

23/77 6
DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

Following S U B J E C T S ;

V I Z.

Samuel's APPEARANCE at *Endor*.

Pilate's Wife's DREAM concerning Christ.

Moses and *Elias* APPEARING to three Disciples.

St. Peter's DELIVERANCE by an *Angel*.

Abraham's REPLY to *Dives*.

Written at the Request of a L A D Y.

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LETTER I.

MADAM,



WHEN I had last the Honour of waiting on you, I found you full of Thought, your Elbow gently reclin'd on the inimitable *Shakespeare*. I soon guess'd (what you was pleased to tell me) that you had been conversing very lately with that Gentleman: For your Imagination was hard at work; the Ideas which the Poet had convey'd were still strong and lively; and the Pleasure and the Pain, seem'd to have taken their Turns, and to have made a very deep Impression.

I remember my Curiosity soon grew troublesome, and you as kindly satisfied it, in letting me know, that it was very true— you was full of Thought; and,

B

as

as you easily imagin'd, the Intenfeness of it was not to be conceal'd : But assuring me withal, that the *Passions* had nothing to do in the Matter ; that you had been reflecting upon a Piece of the *Roman Story* contain'd in the Tragedy of *Julius Caesar* ; and, as the *Reflections* were what the Poet had not made himself, so you believ'd, but few had done the like before you ; and yet at present, you was of an Opinion, that the *Reflections* were neither unbecoming a grave Philosopher nor a good Christian : In short, you told me, that *Calphurnia's Dream* the Night before the Death of her Husband *Julius Caesar*, and his *Appearance* afterwards to *Brutus* in the Fields of *Philippi*, was what had engrossed your Thoughts, and occasioned such Reflections : For as you believed those Passages were no *Fiction* of the Poet, but *Facts* well supported in History, so you as firmly concluded, that the Almighty had not been such a Stranger to the Heathen Part of the World, as might generally be conceiv'd ; that such *Communications* were to you convincing, that He had all along been not only the God of the *Jews* but of the *Gentiles* also ; and that there were *ministring Spirits* at *Rome* and *Athens*, as well as at *Jerusalem*, to execute his Will, to reward and to punish in such manner, as might
best

best serve the Ends of the great Governor of the World.

I then took the Liberty of reminding you, Madam, (and you seem'd to take it with Pleasure) of another Heathen Lady, *Pilate's Wife*; a Lady, though in Quality inferior to *Calphurnia*, yet in other Respects much superior; for she saw the Redeemer of Mankind in Person, about fourscore Years after the Death of *Julius Caesar*; and yet did not truly see Him as such neither, till she saw Him as that just one in a Dream. It was the same infinite Being, I likewise observ'd, that permitted *Julius Caesar's Appearance* to *Brutus* at *Philippi*, as did *Samuel's* to *Saul* at *Endor*, though probably in a different manner; *Saul* and *Brutus* much resembled one another in their Deaths; as being their own Executioners.— *Saul* said to his Armour-Bearer, draw thy Sword and thrust me through.— But *Saul* took a Sword, and fell upon it^a. And you quickly told me, Madam, what *Brutus* said to *Strato*, Hold then my Sword, and turn away thy Face, while I do run upon it: *Saul* and *Brutus* were both press'd hard by the Enemy; and why might not *Saul* then, you said, in Regard to the *Appea-*

^a 1 Sam. xxxi.

rance at Endor, speak as Brutus did?—
O Samuel, Thou art mighty yet, thy Spirit walks abroad, and turns our Swords in our own proper Entrails. You proceeded, Madam, in making a Reflection upon what had pass'd, very just and à *Propos*, which was, that since the *Transition* was so easy and natural from profane to sacred History, and 'twas evident from both, that *Dreams* and *Visions*, whether in the Heathen or Christian World, were deriv'd and to be accounted for, from one and the same Almighty Power, you had often wonder'd, why there should be that *Hesitation* or *Difference* made (too observable in the present Age) in giving Assent to these Things; or why *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Suetonius* and other Heathen Writers, that you had often heard quoted upon these Subjects, should find Credit upon much easier Terms, than the Writers of the Old and New Testament. All that I then reply'd, Madam, was, that there were too many (and some who made great Pretences to Learning too) who paid but little Regard to the Writers under *either* Denomination, sacred or profane, when they talk'd of *Dreams* and *Apparitions*; such Passages being rather made the Subject of thin Wit and everflowing Raillery, than any sober Debate or serious Enquiry about the Truth of them: However, I
was

was much pleas'd to find, I was then addressing my self to a Person truly Christian, without the least Mixture of the *Sadducee* ; and that Philosophy, good Sense, and a hearty Concern for, and Regard to *Divine Revelation*, had so far prevail'd, that I persuade my self, 'tis your fixed Resolution, neither to submit your Reason to the Caprice and Humour of any *Bel Esprit* whatever, nor suffer your self to be argued or laughed out of your Religion, either by the sly Deist or noisy Free-thinker. And indeed you soon gave me farther Proof of this : For we had scarce quitted the Plains of *Philippi*, and left off talking of *Julius Caesar's Appearance*, but your Thoughts were carried to one of the sublimest Passages in the Gospel, led to it by the former Discourse : *Moses* and *Elias* appearing to three Disciples at once, was, you said, a Scene full of Wonder and Love ; that you then beheld it with an Eye of Faith, and hoped hereafter to have the same sort of Knowledge (whatever it was) which *Peter*, *James* and *John* then had in the Holy Mount : I beg'd leave to observe, that our Saviour's *Transfiguration* with the several Circumstances attending it, is generally thought to point out to the Law and the Prophets, as all referring to and terminating in Him, as also to comfort

the Disciples against his approaching Passion, and to give them some Resemblance of his second Advent, when He *should come in the Glory of his Father with the Holy Angels*: These were the great Ends unquestionably, that were serv'd in that *Appearance* on the Mount; and though that *Appearance* was extraordinary, yet your Inference, I think, was still just, *viz.* That as the Souls of Men have been sometimes summoned back from the other World to this; so there may be still many weighty Reasons in every Age of the Christian Church, why *Apparitions* should not wholly cease. To this I added, that 'twas very certain, both *good* and *bad* Angels, do now, as formerly, serve the Purposes of an all wise and infinite Being; there are *ministring* Spirits, and *Powers* of Darkness; we are put in Mind, to wrestle with the *one*, and to expect Assistance from the *other*: And when God is pleas'd either to appoint or to permit it; these created Beings not only communicate by *Dreams* and *Visions*, but are enabled to cloath themselves with some *Ætherial* or *Aerial* Substance, and to assume the Likeness of Souls that are departed and gone to their eternal Rest; though the manner of it be as much above the Reach of Man's Understanding, as the Union of his own
Body

Body and Soul is. I was going on, when I very well remember, you suggested, that though it was not to be doubted, but those cœlestial Beings did interest themselves in the Affairs of this sublunary World, and such Execution of the divine Will and Pleasure is probably what we are to understand by *Providence*; yet there remained a *Scruple* with you, (which you hoped I would soon remove) as, whether, since the Establishment of Christianity, *Appearances* from the other World may be expected or allow'd of, upon any Account whatever; and whether it does not seem to be forbidden in the Parable given by our Saviour of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, where we are bid to *hear Moses and the Prophets* in Opposition to such *Appearances*. You well know, Madam, I had then little more to reply, than that I thought we ought to be very cautious in *prescribing Laws* to the Almighty; especially in an Affair, where in all Ages *before* the Establishment of Christianity He has so remarkably distinguish'd his Wisdom and Justice in the Government of the World. I had the good Luck at the same Time, to recollect a Passage out of St. *Austin* in his *Treatise about taking Care of the Dead*, where (notwithstanding what some of great Name have thought to the contrary) He

says, it argues nothing less than *Impudence*, for Flesh and Blood to reason about the Proceedings of the great Creator in such a Manner, as, *when and for how long a Time* He shall please to depute from the other World, Messengers of his Will and Pleasure to be perform'd in this : And as to the remaining Part of the Objection you made from our Saviour's Parable, I desired, you would well observe at your Leisure, what a remarkable Difference there is in the manner of our Saviour's expressing himself : For, when *Abraham* returns his Answer, He does not say, or give the least Hint, that such who have departed this Life either *cannot* return, or that it has not been *usual* for them so to do : Whereas, He is very positive and explicit, when He tells *Dives*, that *there is a Gulph* fixed, so that they which would pass from hence to you *cannot* ; neither *can* they pass to us that would come from thence. But the Answer given is, *They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them* ; and great Reason there was for such an Answer : For you may observe, Madam, *Lazarus's* being *raised from the Dead*, had no very great Effect among the stupid *Jews* ; and if *Appearances* from the other World were once *common* among our selves, we might perhaps grow as insensible as they : But then,

then, 'tis by no means a just Consequence to say, that therefore the Almighty neither *will* nor *does* act that way at all *since*; or that the good Angels *never* have it in Charge, nor the bad ones ever permitted to communicate with this lower World by *Dreams* and *Visions*. Nor can the Belief of this be any ways inconsistent with *Abraham's* Answer to *Divines*; for the Conclusion, which we all ought to make from it, is, that *the Revelation which God has made to Man, contains all the surest Marks of Truth for establishing our Faith, as well as the strongest Motives for our Obedience; and that therefore no greater Evidence can or ought to be required, than what God has already given.*

This, I think Madam, was the Substance of the Discourse you was pleased to indulge me at that Time. I am now, according to your Request, to say something *more particular* of the several *Texts* of Scripture, which then occur'd in Conversation; and withal to set the whole in the best and clearest Light I can, by the concurrent *Testimony* both of the Heathen and Christian World concerning the Matters then discours'd of in *general* only; by this means, you was pleased to say, you should be able to satisfy your self and others in such Points; and
that

that afterwards, none should have it in their Power to charge you safely with *Superstition*, without incurring the Censure of *Irreligion* themselves. Give me leave only, Madam, to remind you of the Promise made me, when I took my Leave (being no small Encouragement to this Undertaking) that the Length of my Letter should be a *Fault* that you would easily pardon; and hoped all your Friends would do so too.

The Text of Scripture that first occur'd in Conversation, was *Samuel's Appearance* at *Endor*, occasion'd by the Reflections you was making upon *Julius Caesar's* presenting himself at *Philippi*. I easily imagine, Madam, that you sometimes converse with those, who object that such as talk of *Apparitions*, either misunderstand or misapply the Holy Scriptures, or else are too credulous in Relations of that Nature; so that I may well expect the same Usage from that Quarter, which *St. Paul* met with amongst the *Athenians*,—*What will this Babler say?* I am very sensible, that *Truth* will always suffer, when the Management of it is in weak Hands; and therefore permit me, Madam, before I speak directly to the Text, to shelter my self under the *Authority* of some great Man, in shewing, that we are neither engaging in a weak Cause, nor
doing

doing Disservice to Religion, whilst we talk of *Apparitions* with due Sobriety, and in the manner such a Subject ought to be treated. The *Authority*, I am now going to make use of, is what you may the more assuredly depend on, Madam, because the Author has for many Years past encounter'd Scepticism and Infidelity in all its Shapes : His Armour proves impregnable ; his Arguments ever unanswerable. * " As for *Apparitions*, says " that great Man, though there be much " of *Fabulosity* in these Relations, yet " can it not reasonably be concluded, " that there is nothing at all of *Truth* in " them ; since something of this Kind " has been averr'd in all Ages, and many " times attested by Persons of unquestionable Prudence and unsuspected Veracity. And whereas the Atheists " impute the *Original* of these Things to " Men's mistaking both their *Dreams* " and their waking *Phancies* for real *Visions* and *Sensations* ; they do hereby " plainly contradict one main fundamental Principle of their own *Philosophy*, that *Sense* is the only Ground of " *Certainty* and the Criterion of all " Truth : For if prudent and intelligent

* Dr. Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, Page 700.

" Persons

“ Persons may be so frequently mistaken,
 “ in confounding their own *Dreams* and
 “ *Phansies* with *Sensations*, how can there
 “ be any Certainty of Knowledge at all
 “ from *Sense*? However, they here de-
 “ rogate so much both from *Sense* and
 “ from humane *Testimonies*, as that if the
 “ like were done in other Cases, it would
 “ plainly overthrow all humane Life.

“ And therefore others, being appre-
 “ hensive of this Inconvenience of deny-
 “ ing so many *sensible Appearances* and
 “ *Testimonies* or *Relations of Fact*, have
 “ chose rather to acknowledge the *Rea-*
 “ *lity of Apparitions*; nevertheless con-
 “ cluding them to be Things caused and
 “ created by the *Power of Imagination*
 “ only; as if the Strength of Imagina-
 “ tion were such, that it could not only
 “ create *Phancies*, but also *real sensible*
 “ *Objects*, and that at a Distance too
 “ from the Imaginers, such as whereby
 “ the Sense of others shall be for the
 “ Time affected, though they quickly
 “ vanish away again. From which pro-
 “ digious Paradox, we may take Notice
 “ of the *Fanaticism* of some Atheists,
 “ and that there is nothing so monstrouf-
 “ ly absurd, which Men infected with
 “ Atheistick Incredulity will not rather
 “ entertain into their Belief, than admit
 “ of any thing that shall the least hazard
 “ or

“ or endanger the *Existence of a God*. For
 “ if there be once any invisible Ghosts
 “ or Spirits acknowledg’d, as Things
 “ permanent, it will not be easy for any
 “ to give a Reason, why there might not
 “ be one *supreme Ghost* also, presiding
 “ over them all and the whole World.—
 “ Even *Democritus* was convinc’d, that
 “ the Stories of *Apparitions* were not all
 “ *Fabulous*, and that there are not only
 “ Terrestrial, but also Aerial and Æthe-
 “ rial Animals; and that this Earth of
 “ ours is not the only Place peopl’d and
 “ inhabited, or that all those other vast
 “ Regions above lie desert, solitary and
 “ waste. Divers of the antient Fathers,
 “ though they agreed not so far with
 “ *Democritus*, as to make the *Angelical*
 “ *Beings* to be altogether corporeal, yet
 “ did they likewise suppose them to have
 “ their certain *subtile, ætherial or aerial*
 “ *Bodies*: In which Respect *St. Austin*
 “ in his 115 Epistle calleth Angels *Æ-*
 “ *thereos*, and Devils *Aerios Animantes*.—— The Scripture insists very
 “ much upon *Demons or evil Spirits*, and
 “ declares it to be one Design of our Sa-
 “ viour Christ’s coming into the World,
 “ to oppose these *confederate Powers* of
 “ the Kingdom of Darkness, and to res-
 “ cue Mankind from the Thralldom and
 “ Bondage thereof. This proves the real
 “ *Existence*

“ *Existence of Spirits*, and that they are
 “ not meer Phancies and imaginary In-
 “ habitants of Men’s Brains only, but
 “ real Inhabitants of the World. We
 “ call them *Wizards* and *Magicians*, who
 “ associate and confederate themselves in
 “ a peculiar manner with these evil Spi-
 “ rits for the Gratification of their own
 “ Revenge, Lust, Ambition and other
 “ Passions. Now, besides the Holy
 “ Scriptures, there has been so full an
 “ Attestation given to *them* by Persons
 “ unconcern’d in all Ages, that these our
 “ so confident Exploders of *them* in this
 “ present Age, can hardly escape the
 “ Suspicion of having some hank’ring to-
 “ wards Atheism. As for *Demoniacks*,—
 “ We may learn from the Writings of
 “ *Josephus* in many Places, that by *them*
 “ was not to be understood Persons very
 “ *ill affected* in their Bodies; ^a For he
 “ declares it as his Opinion, that by *De-*
 “ *mons* were to be understood the *Spirits*
 “ or Souls of wicked Men deceas’d get-
 “ ting into the Bodies of the living; And
 “ therefore the *Jews* in our Saviour’s Time
 “ were not at all surpriz’d with his casting
 “ out of Devils, it being usual for them

^a As some Persons now a Days take the Liberty of talking.

" also to *exorcize* the same ; An Art, which
 " they pretended to have learnt from *Solomon*. *Josephus* gives the following
 " Account of it ; ^a God also taught *Solomon* an Art against Demons and Devils,
 " for the Benefit and Cure of Men ; who
 " composed certain Incantations by which
 " Diseases are cur'd ; and left Forms of
 " Exorcisms whereby Devils are expelled
 " and driven away ; which Method of
 " curing prevails much amongst us at this
 " very Day. Notwithstanding which,
 " we think it not at all probable, what
 " a late Atheistick Writer has asserted,
 " that the Heads of the *Jews* were then
 " all of them so full of Demons and Devils,
 " that they generally took all manner of bodily Diseases, such as Feavers
 " and Agues, and Dumbness, and Deafness
 " for *Devils* ; nor can we think,
 " that the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time
 " either supposed all Madmen to be *Demoniacks*
 " or all *Demoniacks* Madmen
 " (though this latter seems to be asserted
 " by an eminent Writer of our own,) we
 " reading of Devils cast out from others
 " besides Madmen, and of a Woman
 " which had a Spirit of *Infirmity* only,
 " and was bow'd together and could not

^a Ant. Jud. L. 8. C. 2.

“ *lift up herself*, which is said by our
 “ Saviour Christ *to have been* BOUND
 “ BY SATAN: Wherefore, the Sense
 “ of the *Jews* formerly seems to have
 “ been this, that when there were any un-
 “ usual and extraordinary *Symptoms* in
 “ any Bodily Distemper, but especially
 “ that of *Madness* (this being look’d up-
 “ on as something more than natural) it
 “ was imputed by them to the Possession
 “ or Infestation of some *Devil*. Neither
 “ was this proper to the *Jews* only at
 “ that time, to suppose evil Demons to
 “ be the Causes of such bodily Diseases
 “ as had extraordinary Symptoms, and
 “ especially Madness; but the *Greeks* and
 “ other *Gentiles* also were perswaded in
 “ like manner, as appears from *Apollonius*
 “ *Tyaneus*, &c. We have also the Judg-
 “ ment of two very experienc’d *Physicians*,
 “ *Sennertus* and *Fernelius*, that evil Spirits
 “ or Demons do at this very Day some-
 “ times really act upon the Bodies of Men,
 “ and either inflict or augment bodily
 “ Distempers and Diseases. ^a ’Tis also
 “ very evident from the Records of cre-
 “ dible Writers, that since the time of
 “ our Saviour there have been Persons
 “ Demoniacal, who have not only disco-

^a De Mania L. 1. C. 15. de abditis rerum causis.

“ ver’d *Secrets*, and declar’d things *past*,
 “ but *future* also ; and besides this, spoke
 “ in *Languages* which they had never
 “ learnt. The *Physician* last nam’d gives
 “ an account of one *Demoniack*, in whose
 “ behalf He and several other *Physicians*
 “ were call’d in, and all manner of Re-
 “ medies applied, but yet in vain ; And
 “ after having given the Reason thereof,
 “ He concludes thus — These things
 “ do I produce, to make it manifest that
 “ evil Demons or Devils do sometimes
 “ enter into the very Bodies of Men, af-
 “ flicting and and tormenting ’em after
 “ an unheard of manner : but that at
 “ other times, though they do not enter
 “ into and possess their whole Body, yet
 “ partly by exagitating and disturbing
 “ the profitable Humours thereof, partly
 “ by traducing the noxious into the prin-
 “ cipal Parts, or else by obstructing the
 “ Veins and other Passages with them,
 “ or disordering the Structure of the
 “ Members, they cause innumerable Dis-
 “ eases. Thus much I have thought ne-
 “ cessary to say, as well for the Vin-
 “ dication of Christianity, as for the
 “ Conviction of the *Incredulous* ; we
 “ finding some so staggering in their Re-
 “ ligion, that from this one Thing a-
 “ lone of *Demoniack*’s (they being so
 “ strongly possess’d that there neither is

“ nor ever was any such) they are ready
 “ enough to suspect, the whole Gospel
 “ or New Testament it self of Fabulo-
 “ sity and Imposture.

And now I persuade my self, Madam, from what this eminent Writer has laid down, that you will not judge *it* an unnecessary Introduction ; and I hope all that I have to offer will be better understood, and find an easier Admittance into your Closet. Let *Samuel's Appearance* then, at *Endor*, be the first Thing to be consider'd ; and a short View of the *Context* will perhaps lead us to form the truest Judgment of it. We find, that at this Juncture, the Death of *Samuel*, and *David's* living in a Foreign Land, were the great Calamities that the *Jews* labour'd under. 'Twas this made the *Amalekites* to lift up their Heads, and *Saul* with his People to hang down theirs. *Saul* was in the utmost Distress, and the Enemy seem'd resolv'd soon to push him in Mount *Gilboa*. 'Twas this occasion'd the *Night-Visit* that *Saul* made to the Woman at *Endor* ; he disguis'd himself says the Text ^a : and surely taking another *Habit* was then very proper, considering what Affair he was going upon, to break a divine *Law*, that was enjoyn'd under

^a Verse 8.

the severest Penalty to his own Subjects ; and when, should his *Absence* have been discover'd, it might have made a strong Impression and added to the Confusion his Army was then in already. He was grown old in Wickedness ; and God in his Providence had now so order'd Matters, that his Punishment was near at hand. *Saul* probably acted the *Politician* before, in observing that Law ; and did it not out of any real Sense of his Duty : He might be influenc'd by the Authority and Advice of good *Samuel*, when alive ; or he might hope, by the Observation of this Law, to appease the Almighty, and that the Sentence might be revok'd, with which *Samuel* had acquainted him, ^a *The Lord hath rejected thee from being King over Israel* ; 'twas after that Sentence pass'd, we read the *evil Spirit from God was upon Saul* ^b ; and though by the Charms of Musick, when *David* took the Harp, the *evil Spirit departed from him* ; yet 'tis not unlikely, but that in this last Scene of his Life, the *same evil Spirit troubled him*, which, 'tis expressly said, did so, as soon, as *Samuel* had anointed *David* to be King in his Room ^c. *Saul* therefore did not hate the Sin ; but he

^a 1 Sam. xv. 26.^b Chap. xvi.^c Chap. xvi. 14.

was willing still to govern; and since he had lost the Favour of Heaven, was resolv'd to summon the Powers of Hell: ^a Vain, unhappy Prince! to have Recourse to such Methods, which his own Conscience assur'd him were displeasing to the Almighty, and consequently must tend to his own Destruction: Well might he say to *Samuel*, after that the Woman had brought him up, *God is departed from me, answereth me no more, neither by Prophets nor by Dreams*: But after such a Speech, how could *Saul* expect any Good from *Samuel*? Or what other Answer could he expect than what *Samuel* gave him.— *The Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of thy Hand, &c.* No wonder, that *Saul* after this is said to be *sore afraid, and that there was no Strength in him*: The Stings of a guilty Conscience were then doubly pungent; this World and the next at the same Time conspiring to make them so: The Wickedness of his past Life was then set before him in the strongest Light: The Blood of *the fourscore and five that wore a Linen Ephod* ^b, was then crying for Vengeance in his wounded Soul; a potent Enemy was marching to

^a *Flectere si nequeam superos, Acheronta movebo.*

^b *1 Sam. xxii. 18.*

dethrone him ; and by his own ill Conduct, *David* was become one of the Number. And that which gave the finishing Stroke, was, we may imagine, *Samuel's* bidding him prepare for his sudden Change.— *To Morrow shalt thou and thy Sons be with me* ^a. And what shall we say to this? Shall *Saul* laden with Iniquity go to the same Place of Rest with *Samuel*, or even with his own Son *Jonathan*? By no means: But we are rather to understand by this Expression, that *Saul* and his three Sons should be on the other Side of the Grave, or in a State of Death *to Morrow* as well as *Samuel*; so far they *should be with him*, as to know the Regions of the other World, which they were now Strangers to in this Life ; but nothing more, as to the Condition and State of their Souls ; *Saul*, no doubt, expected to converse with the real Soul of *Samuel*, and not with any Spectre or Phantom ; *Samuel* had done him good Offices, whilst he was alive ; and therefore *Saul* might flatter himself, that *Samuel* would assist him some way or other in this great Extremity. But *wherefore dost thou ask of me*, says *Samuel*, *seeing the Lord is departed from thee, and is become thine Enemy?* Madam, Ob-

^a Verse 19.

serve the strange Alteration in *Saul*: When *Samuel* was on this Side the Grave, *Saul* slighted his Advice, though commanded by the Almighty to hearken to him; when dead, he's as importunate to have it, though in a way that the same infinite Being had forbid, and therefore must know, could not be for his good. The Woman's sudden Exclamation, in crying out with a loud Voice ^a, when she first saw *Samuel*, implies, I should think, something extraordinary in the Appearance, more than she had been us'd to on the like Occasions; perhaps by the Appearance she was inform'd, that 'twas her Sovereign who was then applying to her, and was apprehensive that he was laying a Snare for her Life, as she objected to him, when he first came to her ^b; which was sufficient to put her into that Confusion, and to make her say, *Why hast thou deceived me? For, thou art Saul* ^c: or it may be, *Samuel's* arising out of the Earth might be in a different Manner, and not agreeable with the common Rules of Necromancy. 'Tis certain, there is no sort of Divination so antient as this; and several Heathen Writers of the best Authority assure us, that it was commonly

^a Verse 12.

^b Verse 9.

^c Verse 12.
practic'd

practic'd in the Eastern Parts of the World. When the Woman said, *I saw Gods ascending out of the Earth*^a; It may possibly be understood in the Language or way of speaking peculiar to Persons of that Profession; though I rather suspect it to be an *honourary* Sort of Speech, in the *Plural* Number instead of the *Singular*, in Regard to the Person of *Samuel*: For *Saul* immediately subjoins in the *Singular*^b: *What Form is he of?* And she answers in the *Singular* likewise, *An old Man cometh up, and he is covered with a Mantle*; and the using the *Plural* Number instead of the *Singular* upon such an Account, often occurs in Scripture; particularly, where *Moses* is enjoying Reverence due to Magistrates, *c Thou shalt not revile the Gods*. Upon the whole, by the Account which the Scripture has given us of this Matter, the Woman of *Endor* saw the Form of *Samuel*, but heard no Voice; whereas, *Saul* heard the Voice, but saw not the Form.

You may now expect, Madam, that I should proceed in making a more particular Enquiry concerning *Samuel's Appearance* at *Endor*; *Endor*, was a Place, we read^d,

^a Verse 13.

^d *Josh.* xvii.

^b Verse 14.

^c *Exod.* xxii. 28.

on the other Side *Jordan*, belonging to the Tribe of *Manasseh*; but 'tis said, *the Children of Manasseh* could not drive out the *Inhabitants* of those Cities, where their Lot was, but the *Canaanites* would dwell in that Land. 'Tis said in the Book of *Judges*^a, that God would not drive them out, in Order to prove *Israel*, and that the *Children of Israel* dwelt among the *Canaanites*, &c. and they took their *Daughters* to be their *Wives*, and gave their *Daughters* to their *Sons*, and served their *Gods*. Here we see the Reason of those Laws, which God gave to the *Israelites* against *Idolatry*, *Witchcraft*, *Divination*, and dealing with *Familiar Spirits*. The Law more immediately relating to *Saul* in this Affair at *Endor*, runs thus,— *Regard not them that have familiar Spirits, neither seek after Wizards to be defiled by them: I am the Lord your God. A Man or Woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizard shall surely be put to Death,—or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer: For all that do these Things are an Abomination unto the Lord: And because of these Abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive*

^a Chap. ii. 3.

the Nations out from before thee^a. The Word *Familiar*, though not in the Original, yet our Translators have thought fit to use that *Epithet*, since we don't seem, no more than the *Greeks* and *Latins*, to have any *one* Word expressive, or sufficient to give us any tolerable Notion of such an Operation. St. *Paul* tells us of a young *Pythones*s, whom he met at *Philippi*^b, who dealt with a *Spirit* in this *familiar* Manner; and *Origen* in his Dispute with *Celsus*^c, gives a particular Account of *Pythia's* Familiarity with such impure Spirits. St. *Chrysostom* does the same Thing, when he comments upon those Words of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*^d, *Ye know that ye were Gentiles carried away unto these dumb Idols, even as ye were led.* ^e St. *Chrysostom* there tells his Auditors, that if his Discourse on that Subject was not necessary, Modesty would incline him to say nothing of such *Familiarity*: For the Woman, that was to *divine*, did first of all receive the *infernal* Spirit in the most impure and filthy Manner, afterwards rav'd and foam'd, and then talk'd like a drunken Woman. The

^a Lev. xix. 31. xx. 27. Deut. xviii. 11, 12.

^b Acts xvi. 16.

^c L. 7.

^d 1 Cor. xii. 2.

^e Hom. 29,

Woman at *Endor* had not only a *familiar Spirit*, but she likewise practic'd *Necromancy*, viz. divining from the *Appearance* of dead People, summon'd for that Purpose : For *Saul's Request* is first, that she *would divine unto him by the familiar Spirit*, and bring him up whom he should name unto her ^a. When she was once possess'd, she was then enabled to do the other. The *Hebrew Writers*, when they comment upon this Part of the *Jewish Law*, tell us, *That the Person deceas'd ascends between the Legs of the Diviner, and either sits there or at the Arm-pits, uttering in a low Voice, as if it came from some Cavern or hollow Part of the Earth* ^b. This *Jewish Law* moreover, was sometimes broke by the Diviner's consulting with *Images* ; among the Heathen, the King of *Babylon* is taken Notice of by the Prophet ^c, as *standing at the parting of the Way, at the Head of the two Ways, to use Divination : He made his Arrows or his Knives bright, he consulted with Images or Teraphim, he looked in the Liver*. These *Teraphim* or Images, Madam, were a Sort of Household Gods, of which I don't doubt but you have often read, in

^a Verse 8.

^b *Vid. Crit. Sacr. in Lev. xix. 31.*

^c *Ezek. xxi. 21.*

Roman and other History. *Suetonius* tells us in the Life of *Nero*, that he always kept one of these little *Images* by him, and boasted that he knew Things to come by the Advice of such Image; this is less to be wonder'd at, when we read in the Holy Scriptures of *Laban's* keeping and consulting these little *Images*, which he calls his *Gods*, when he wrongfully tax'd his Son in Law *Jacob* with carrying them away ^a; and probably his Daughter *Rachel* might do it, either to hinder his *divining*, which way she and her Husband were gone, or else by that means to take her Father off from Idolatry. The *Jews* and others agree, says Mr. *Mede* ^b, that these *Teraphim* were small Images made under a certain Constellation, which they used to consult, both in Things doubtful and Things future, supposing they had a Power to this Effect, received from heavenly Influence; much like to *Puppets* made of Wax and like Matter, which our Wizards still use unto like Purpose; and therefore says the Prophet, ^c *Surely the Teraphims or Images have spoken Vanity, and the Soothsayers have seen a Lye, and the Dreamers have told a vain Thing.* Dr. *Spencer* in his learned

^a Gen. xxxi.

^b B. 1. Disc. 36.

^c Zech. x. 2.
Discourse

Discourse of the Laws of the *Hebrews*, when talking of these Matters, says, 'Tis not deny'd, but that there were Images of a much larger Size than these Terephims that serv'd the same Purpose, by delivering the Answers that their Gods gave : Such he takes it, was that famous Statue of *Memnon*, that became *Vocal* when the Rays of the Sun darted on it : But since these were most of them fixed in Temples or some publick Places, and therefore could not be always at hand, the Heathen invented these lesser sort to supply the Absence of the greater ^a. Thus much, Madam, I was willing to observe concerning the *Law*, to which this Transaction at *Endor* does more immediately relate ; and I hope, the little that has been observed, may give you some Satisfaction, as well concerning such as *divine* by familiar Spirits, as also by *Necromancy*, or by infernal Spirits that are invoc'd and appear *outwardly* for that Purpose.

I proceed then to make Enquiry concerning *Samuel's Appearance* ; whether *this* was subject to the Will and Pleasure of any Dæmon, or whether the Almighty thought fit to interpose in any particular manner, and to hinder what *Saul*

^a Lib. 3. C. 3. S. 9.

design'd and the Woman was going about, but perhaps might not put in Execution. The Text says, it was *Samuel*: But was it *Samuel*, risen from the Dead, with the same Body and Soul that were formerly united? Or was it *Samuel's* Body only, animated by some other immaterial Substance? Or was it *Samuel* with his Soul only, assuming some *Ætherial* Vehicle? Or was this a Resemblance only of *Samuel*, effected, by God's Permission, by some *Aerial* Dæmon? As to *Samuel's* Resurrection with Body and Soul, 'tis not probable, that God would suffer it, considering all the Circumstances of the Fact; and 'tis as unlikely that his Body *only*, or the bare Trunk should be made use of in this Affair. Let *Samuel* then be first consider'd as to his Soul only— If we might allow, as the *Romanists* do, the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* to be Canonical, there would be no room for any Scruple: The Author of that Book (so full of excellent Morality) gives an Historical Account of *Samuel*, which we may safely admit as Canonical, because we find it all contain'd in the first Book of *Samuel*: And after he has recounted the glorious Things done by that great Man when alive, he adds, as the Conclusion of the whole, *and after his Death he prophesied, and shewed the King his End, and lift up his Voice from*
the

the Earth in Prophecy, to blot out the Wickedness of the People^a. I dare say, Madam, you don't think *this Passage* induc'd the antient Fathers of the Christian Church to reckon this Book *Apocryphal*; so far from it, that I can assure you, many of them are of the Opinion, that it was the *real* Soul of *Samuel* that *appear'd* at *Endor*, and some of them have quoted that Book for the same Purpose. So thought *Josephus* among the *Jews*, *Justin* the Martyr, *St. Basil*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Austin*. When I say, *the Fathers* of the Christian Church, I persuade my self, Madam, that you do not so understand me, as if I was transgressing the Command of our Saviour, who bids us *call no Man our Father upon the Earth*; for one is *our Father which is in Heaven*^b, or that the Expression is us'd by me in the manner, the haughty and ambitious *Jews* us'd it, when they glory'd, one *being of Paul*, another of *Apollos*, another of *Cephas*^c. *St. Paul* was indeed eminently a *Father* to the *Corinthians*; and in the same Sense may the rest of the Apostles be *so* called, in regard to their Instructions, and their being, under Christ, the great Founders of the Christian Religion.

^a Chap. xlv. 20.

^b Mat. xxiii. 9.

^c 1 Cor. iii.

Their Successors, those great Lights of the Christian Church for six hundred Years after, have been justly thought deserving the same *Appellation*, in regard to their Piety and great Learning; but, I wou'd not be here mistaken, as if under the Notion of *Fathers*, I was for setting up an *Infallibility* of Judgment, when I quote these Gentlemen. I as much dislike that Notion, as I do that other, of establishing every one's *private Judgment*, attended with such ill Consequences every Day amongst us. The Writers, whose Authority I am now going to make use of, were Persons of universal Knowledge, and who gave their Opinion with singular Modesty, after much Thought and serious Reflection; and (as appears particularly in the Case of *St. Austin*) if upon a Review they saw their Mistake, they readily *retracted*; and on that Account, they are the more to be rely'd on. In short, the present Age does not seem to be a Match for them either in humane Learning or Divinity: However you need not be scrupulous here, Madam; for no Essentials or Points of Faith will be treated of.— *Josephus* was born but three or four Years after our Saviour suffer'd; this Man, (who may certainly be allow'd a competent Judge of the *Jewish Affairs*) gives us the History of *Samuel's Appearance*

rance much after the same manner as we have it in our Bible; but says more particularly, that the Woman at *Endor* did not know what manner of Person Samuel was; however, she called him up, and was in great Disorder upon the Sight of so venerable and divine a Person; and says expressly, that 'twas the SOUL of Samuel that question'd with Saul; this we have recorded in his Book called *Jewish Antiquities* ^a. And this is the Author, Madam, who though he liv'd and died a Jew, spake so honourably of our blessed Saviour. I could never yet see Reason why any should question the Passage, as not Genuine; the late learned Editor of his Works (Dr. Hudson) well observes, as one Mark of its being genuine, how easy and just the Connection is with what is said before ^b. You will pardon the Digression, I know, if I give you the Passage; and I believe, you'll be sorry as I am, to find it so short— It runs thus— Moreover, about that Time lived Jesus, (or as Eusebius ^c relates it one Jesus) a wise Man; if it may be proper to call him a Man: For he work'd Wonders; and his Disciples were Men,

^a L. 6. C. 15.

^b See Dr. Cave, du Pin, &c.

^c Hist. Eccl. L. 1. C. 11.

that

that made their Enquiries after Truth their Pleasure, and he prevailed with many, as well Jews as Gentiles to associate with him. This was he, that was called (or believed to be) Christ ^a. Being accused by the chief Men among our selves, He was crucified by Pilate: However those, who were at first heartily affected, still adher'd to him: For after three Days they saw him alive again; the divine Prophets having declared these, and a thousand more wonderful Things concerning him; and the Tribe or Nation of Christians, so called from this Person, has never failed since to this very Day ^b. But to return, Madam; you see *Josephus* is a good Witness in the Affair of *Samuel*, as well as of our Saviour: And so is *Justin* the Martyr, who lived not long after the time of the Apostles, and who, in the famous Dialogue between him and *Trypho* the Jew, alleges this, as one Argument of the Soul's surviving in another State; that the Witch or Pythonefs called up the Soul of *Samuel* at the Request of *Saul*. And though *Justin* is made to speak otherwise in a Treatise, called *his Answers to the Orthodox con-*

^a For so *Vossius* thinks is the true reading.

^b *Ant. L. 18. 4.* *Josephus* was living A. D. 93. See *Dr. Cave*.

cerning 146 Questions, yet that Treatise is on many Accounts rejected as spurious, or at best must be allowed to be interpolated, and many Things father'd upon *Justin*, that are none of his ^a. *St. Basil*, who lived in the fourth Century, writing to his Friend *Eustathius* a Physician ^b, and taking Occasion to mention the different Acceptation of the Word God, says, *the Pythoness that by her Witchcraft brought up Samuel, said, that she saw Gods, &c.* And *St. Ambrose*, who lived also in the fourth Century, is very express in his Commentary upon the first Chapter of *St. Luke*; where he says, *According to the Testimony of the Holy Scriptures, Samuel prophesied after his Death* ^c. *St. Austin*, who was cotemporary with *St. Ambrose*, says, in a Treatise that I mention'd to you, Madam, some time ago ^d; 'Tis evident from the Holy Scriptures, that some are sent from the Dead to the Living, as on the contrary, that *St. Paul* was taken up from the Living into Paradise: For *Samuel* being dead, prophesied to King *Saul* whilst alive. Although some have been of

^a See Dr. Cave's Hist. Lit.

^b Ep. 80.

^c *Samuel post mortem secundum Scripture Testimonium futura non tacuit.*

^d Taking care of the Dead.

an Opinion, that it could not be Samuel himself, as not subject (they imagine) to the Power of any magick Arts, but was therefore rather some bad Spirit, fit for such Work, which assumed the Likeness of Samuel: Whereas the Book called ECCLESIASTICUS, generally ascribed to Jesus Syrach, but, from the Stile and Manner of writing, is affirmed to be Solomon's, commemorates Samuel, among other holy Men departed, as one that had prophesied from amongst the Dead. After such great Names, Madam, I presume you will think it unnecessary to have the Judgment of modern Writers, whether Romish or Protestant, in this matter; and I need not observe to you, that the Writers, which I have set before you, lived too early, to be stigmatized with the trite and odious Character of being *Popishly* affected: And here I can't but observe by the By, that every true Member of the Church of England must think, that the Reformation suffers, and real Service is done to the Church of Rome, whenever Popery is said to be found among those glorious Lights of the Christian Church. We do not, we must not, refuse appealing to the concurrent Testimony of Writers even for six hundred Years after our Saviour, for the Truth of our Religion; and if Christendom could be so happy as to agree on a

fair Tryal in that Respect, and worldly Policy and Grandure not allowed to have any thing to do in the Matter, Things would then be put upon such an Issue, that *Schism* in a little time would have nothing left to support it self. Give me leave then, Madam, rather than trouble you with any more *Authorities*, to make some Enquiry, what might probably induce these *antient Fathers* to conclude thus about the *Soul* of *Samuel*. They might observe in the first Place, what is obvious to every Reader, that as often as this *Appearance* is taken Notice of in the History, there is no other Name given than that of *Samuel*? 'Tis said, that the *Woman* saw *Samuel*— that *Saul* perceived that it was *Samuel*— *Samuel* said to *Saul*— *Saul* answered *Samuel*— And *Saul* was fore afraid, because of the *Words* of *Samuel*. 'Tis natural enough to conclude, when *Saul* went to *Endor* upon this Errand, that he himself did believe, what he really wished and expected, was come to pass: There was no Scruple, nor even *Fancy* in him about the Matter; for he perceived, which is more than *Fancy*, that it was *Samuel*; and his Respects were paid accordingly; he bowed himself; and, during the Conversation, *Saul* says, *I have called thee, that thou mayst make known unto me what I shall do.* If the
Book

Book of *Ecclesiasticus* was writ by *Solomon*, as *St. Austin* takes Notice, 'tis no wonder then, that these antient Fathers were of such an Opinion : And who so likely to give a just Account of the Matter, as *Solomon*, who lived so little a time after 'twas done ? And what Reason could there be for the Author to extol *Samuel* for his *prophefying after Death*, if an infernal Spirit only appeared under the Resemblance of *Samuel* ? These Antients might likewise observe, that the *Predictions* at *Endor* were extraordinary and very particular, as to *Saul's Sons* and their *dying the next Day* : This was a Sort of Knowledge they knew was above the Reach of any *infernal Spirit* ; for so the Prophet *Isaiah*^a, *Let them bring forth and shew us what shall happen : Let them shew the former Things what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter End of them ; or declare us Things for to come : Shew the Things that are to come hereafter, that we may know, that ye are Gods.* Evil Spirits, by the divine Appointment, may and often have declared *Things for to come* ; but considering the several Circumstances of this *Appearance* of *Samuel*, the *Fathers* might not think it con-

^a Chap. xli.

sistent with the *Ministry* of Demons, tho' 'twas to punish a very wicked Man. Besides, if infernal Spirits, as has been often asserted, can neither use, nor endure the Sound of the great and venerable Name JEHOVA, this might furnish *them* with another strong Argument for concluding as they did; that Name being so often repeated in the History. The *Commission*, they might think, was too solemn, and the Subject too *divine* for a *Demon* to be concerned in— *The Lord*, says *Samuel*, *has done for himself, as he spake by me— The Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of thy Hand— Because thou obeyest not the Voice of the Lord; and if it was not Samuel, but a lying Spirit, to what Purpose (they might argue) or what Occasion was there for that Lye, when Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me? And the Lord spake by me? And though the Souls of the Righteous are said to be in Peace and at Rest, yet it might be no Objection to these Fathers, that therefore it was not Samuel, because he complains that he was disquieted and brought up from the Place where he was before in Joy and Felicity; they might conclude, God appointed this, as he had often done before and since, in Regard to the Souls of innocent and good People: They knew the Soul was often brought back,*

back, and such *Disturbance* given as quitting the Mansions of Bliss ; and whether such Souls are *called back* to their proper *Bodies*, or whether they are summoned hither without the *real* Body, is not the Objection here ; but whether God might appoint the Soul of so good a Man as *Samuel* to be *disturbed* ? This, Madam, I say might be no Objection to *them* : They knew very well, that the *Soul* was brought back to the Widow's Son at *Zarephath* ^a ; to another, upon the *Bodies* touching the Bones of *Elisha* ^b ; they knew the *Disturbance* given to the Soul of *Fairus's* Daughter ^c ; to that of the Widow's Son at *Nain* ^d ; to that of *Lazarus* who had been buried four Days ^e ; to that of *Tabitha* at *Joppa*, a *Woman* full of good Works and *Alms-deeds* which she did ^f ; and to the Souls of a great many good People at one time, when the *Graves* were opened, and many *Bodies* of *Saints* which slept arose, and came out of the *Graves*, and went into the *Holy City*, and appeared unto many ^g. And tho', Madam, the *Appearance* at *Endor*, is described as of one ascending out of the *Earth*, yet

^a 1 Kings xvii.

^d Luke vii.

^g Mat. xxvii.

^b 2 Kings xiii.

^c John xi.

^e Mat. ix.

^f Acts ix.

those Primitive Writers might still think *that* no Objection to the Reality of *Samuel's Appearance*, but rather consistent with the Scripture Account, in other Places, of Souls departed hence ; and I can moreover assure you, Madam, that those Writers did so understand the Scriptures. *Jacob*, when he thought his Son *Joseph* was dead ^a, refused to be comforted, saying, that he would *go down to his Son*, and the Original Word there used ^b, for the *Grave*, is what frequently occurs in Scripture to denote the *Subterraneous Mansions*, and as such is translated by the LXX Greek Interpreters ^c, but never by the Word *Ταφος*, or any other Word that signifies a *Grave* or a *Sepulchre*; and St. *Jerom* and others in the *Latin* translate it to the same Purpose ^d; so also at the punishing of a lewd Company of *Schismatics*^e, they are said *to go down alive into the Pit*; the same Word there used, as before. So the Royal *Psalmist* ^f, *If I climb up into Heaven, thou art there; if I go down to Hell, thou art there also*. We very often use the Word *Hell* (in our translating the Bible) *improperly*,

^a Gen. xxxvii.
^a *Infernum*.

^b שָׁחַד.
^c Num. xvi.

^c Adms.
^f cxxxviii.

because

because our Language does not furnish us with a Word that's comprehensive enough : The Scriptures sometimes express it by the way of a Periphrasis : As, *He ascended ; what is that, but the same that descended to the lower Parts of the Earth ?* St. Paul tells the *Philippians*^a, *That at the Name of Jesus every Knee should bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things under the Earth :* And St. John, when he speaks of the Book sealed with seven Seals, says, *No Man in Heaven nor in Earth neither under the Earth, was able to open the Book, neither to look thereon.* You will easily imagine, Madam, that these Primitive Writers had such Passages as these in their Eye, when they passed their Judgment upon this *Appearance of Samuel* from the *lower Parts of the Earth.* *Irenæus*, who lived not long after the Apostles, speaks very plain about the *lower Parts of the Earth*, as the proper Residence for the Souls of the Just, till at the great Day they shall be reunited to their Bodies, and then ascend into Heaven, and have a full Consummation of their Happiness ; the Discourse is introduced by this renowned Prelate, on

^a Chap. ii.

Account. of our Saviour's *Descent into Hell*; where he takes Notice of our Saviour's Saying to *Mary, Touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to my Father—*

“ If therefore our Lord, says *Irenæus*,
 “ did conform himself to the Law relating to the Dead, that he might be the
 “ First-born from the Dead, and stayed
 “ till the third Day in the *lower Parts of the Earth*, after which, rising with
 “ his Body, that he might shew his Disciples the Print of the Nails, so went
 “ up to Heaven; how can such People
 “ help blushing, (*meaning the Gnosticks*)
 “ who assert this World to be the Place
 “ of Hell; but that their Souls, when
 “ they quit the Body, mount to the higher Regions above? For since our Lord
 “ retired, in the midst of the Shadow of
 “ Death, where the Souls of the Deceas'd were; rose afterward with his
 “ Body; and then was taken up; 'tis
 “ evident, that the Souls of the Disciples, or Christians in general, for
 “ whose Sake the Lord did those Things,
 “ have a Place appointed them by God,
 “ above our Comprehension, where they
 “ shall continue waiting till the general
 “ Resurrection; when being reunited in
 “ a perfect manner to their own Bodies,
 “ or rising as our Lord did, they shall
 become

“ become Partakers of the Beatifick Vi-
 “ sion ^a. If you are pleased to know
 more of this Matter, Madam, you may
 see it fully treated of in Dr. *Heylin* and
 Bishop *Pearson's* Expositions of that *Ar-*
ticle of our Creed ; the latter observes,
 when this was made one of the *Articles*
 of our Religion at the Reformation, that
 it was propounded with a certain Expli-
 cation, and thus deliver'd in the fourth
 Year of King *Edward VI.* with Reference
 to an expresse Place of Scripture inter-
 preted of this *Descent*, viz. *That the Bo-*
dy of Christ lay in the Grave until his Re-
surrection: But his SPIRIT which he gave
up, was with the Spirits which were de-
tained in Prison, or in Hell, and preached
to them, as the Place in St. Peter testifieth:
 In Bishop *Sparrow's* Collection, the *Arti-*
cle in *English* reads thus, “ As Christ
 “ died and was buried for us ; so also it
 “ is to be believed, that he went down
 “ into Hell : For the Body lay in the Se-
 “ pulchre until the Resurrection, but his
 “ Ghost departing from him was with the
 “ Ghosts that were in Prison or in Hell,
 “ and did preach to the same as the Place
 “ of *St. Peter* doth testify.” But in the
 Synod ten Years after, in the Days of

^a *Adv. Her. L. 5. C. 31.*

Queen *Elizabeth*, the Articles, which continue still in Force, deliver the same *Descent*, but without any the least *Explication* or *Reference* to any particular Place of Scripture, in these Words, *As Christ died for us and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into Hell.* You find the Passage in *St. Peter's* first Epistle ^a,— *He went and preached unto the Spirits in Prison; which some time were disobedient, &c.* Why the *Article* stands now without *Explication* and *Reference*, is an Enquiry, not at all material to our present Purpose; and were it otherwise, I believe you would think it more proper for me to let it alone. The Passage seems to allude to what the Prophet *Zechariah* says ^b, where he is exhorting *Zion* to rejoyce for the Coming of Christ,— *As for thee also, by the Blood of thy Covenant, I have sent forth thy Prisoners out of the Pit, wherein is no Water.* The Prophecy concerning Christ just precedes this Passage, and is so quoted by the *Evangelists* concerning his Entry into *Jerusalem*, *Rejoyce greatly, O Daughter of Zion; shout O Daughter of Jerusalem, behold thy King cometh, &c.* And then by way of *Apostrophe*, the Prophet

^a Chap. iii. 19, 20.

^b Chap. ix. 11.
addresses

addresses himself to Christ, *As for thee also, &c.* (as above) *Justin* the Martyr and *Irenæus*; the one, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew, the other in his third Book against Heresies ^a quote a Passage, as belonging either to *Isaiah* or *Jeremiah*, which so much resembles this Passage of *St. Peter*, that probably he might take it thence; the Words are, *The Lord the Holy one of Israel had in Remembrance HIS that were dead, and were asleep in the Land of the Deceas'd, and went down to preach to them Salvation, which is from him, that he might save them.* *Justin* is there upbraiding his Jew with the base Methods they had taken, by curtailing the Holy Scriptures in many Places; and this Passage, he says, was one of them; the Annotator *Sylburgius* makes no doubt, but *St. Peter* did refer to this Passage: And *Feuardentius* upon *Irenæus*, observes, that this Passage neither occurs in the *Septuagint* nor *Vulgar Translation*. I shall observe nothing more at present, Madam, about this *Descent* of our Saviour (which you may remember was occasioned by *Samuel's* being describ'd, as one *ascending out of the Earth*; and which the Primitive Fathers, I men-

^a Chap. xxiii.

tion'd,

tion'd, might not think any Objection to his *real* Appearance) unless it be one single Testimony, which *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* (who had *Constantine's* Authority for searching all Records to compleat his Ecclesiastical History) gives us of *Thadæus* one of our Saviour's 70 Disciples, who is said by this Prelate to have address'd himself to King *Abgarus*, when sent by *St. Thomas*, and among other Discourse to have delivered this, *viz. That Christ descended into Hell, and broke the strong Holds; which had never been done before; then rose from the Dead, and raised others likewise who had been asleep for Ages past; and though he descended alone, yet he ascended up with a great Retinue to his Father.* This Ambassy of *Thadæus*, Madam, was soon after our Saviour's Ascension, by the Appointment of *St. Thomas*; for King *Abgarus* having before supplicated our blessed Saviour by Letter, he was honour'd with an Answer, signifying, that he would send one of his Disciples to him to do all, and much more than he had requested. 'Tis a Piece of History, esteem'd so very curious, and the Truth of it so well attested, (as will appear presently) that I promise my self, I shall have the same Indulgence for the following Digression out of *Eusebius*, as for that before out of *Josephus*. *Eusebius* translated

lated it out of *Syriac* into *Greek*; and from the *Greek* please to take it as follows ^a.

“ The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being every where
 “ noised Abroad on Account of the wonderful Works done by Him, occasion’d
 “ the Resort of infinite Numbers from
 “ forreign Parts, and at the greatest Distance from *Judæa*, hoping to find Relief in the several Diseases and Infirmities under which they labour’d. Wherefore King *Abgarus*, who was an eminent Governour of a Nation on the other Side of the *Euphrates*, being in a languishing way by a severe Distemper, incurable by the Art of Man; and when he also understood, that the Name of Jesus was much talked of, and Credit universally given to the Miracles wrought by him, he writes to him, and becomes a humble Suppliant, that he might be worthy of obtaining a Cure.
 “ Our Saviour, who did not think fit to answer his Request at that Time, did nevertheless honour him with a Letter under his own Hand, letting him know, that he would send one of his Disciples to cure him, giving him Assurances at the same Time of Health and Happi-

^a *Hist. Eccl. L. 1. C. ult.*

" nefs to himself, and all that belong'd to
 " him. Nor was it long, before this De-
 " claration was amply fulfilled : For af-
 " ter his Resurrection and Ascension, *Tho-*
 " *mas* one of the twelve Apostles being
 " moved by the Spirit, sends *Thadæus*
 " (who also was numbred among the 70
 " Disciples) to preach the Gospel of
 " Christ in the City of *Edeffa* ; and by
 " his means was made good all that our
 " Saviour had promis'd. For the Truth
 " of these Things you have a written
 " Testimony, taken out of the *Archives*
 " in the Royal City of *Edeffa* : For a-
 " mong the publick Records there, which
 " relate either to Antiquity, or to the
 " more immediate Concerns of *Abgarus*
 " himself, *these Things* are found to be
 " preserv'd from that Time to this. It
 " may then be worth while, to hear what
 " those Epistles are, which were taken
 " by us from those *Archives*, and trans-
 " lated out of the *Syriack*, in the follow-
 " ing Manner :

A

*A COPY of a LETTER
written by Abgarus (the
Governour) to Jesus, and sent
to Him at Jerusalem by A-
nania one of his Couriers.*

*Abgarus Governour of Edessa to Jesus the
excellent Saviour residing in and about
Jerusalem, sendeth Greeting.*

I have heard of thee and thy Cures, as
if perform'd without the use of Herbs
or any other Medicine. For, as 'tis re-
ported, you make the Blind to see, the
Lame to walk, and you cleanse the Le-
pers, and cast out unclean Spirits and De-
vils, and heal such as have been long af-
flicted with any Distemper, and you raise
People from the Dead. Now, having
heard all these Things of thee, I have
reason'd about the Matter in my own
Mind these two Ways, either that thou
art *God*, and coming down from Heaven
doest these Things, or else that thou doest
them as being the Son of God. Where-
fore then, I have now by this Letter re-
quested thy Presence here, and to cure
E the

the Distemper with which I am now afflicted. I have also heard, that the *Jews* mutter out their Discontents against thee, and are minded to do thee some Mischief. Now my own City is but small, but neat and beautiful enough, and it will serve both of us.

In this manner writ *Abgarus*, being in some measure enlighten'd from Heaven already. 'Tis now proper, we should hear the Epistle, that Jesus sent to him by the same Messenger; short indeed, but nervous and powerful, and is as follows:

The Answer of Jesus, by the Courier Ananias, to the Governour Abgarus.

“ *A* *Bgarus*, thou art happy who believest in me, and yet hath not seen me: For 'tis written of me, that those who have seen me, will not believe in me, that they who have not seen, yet believing might have Life. But, as to what you write about my coming to you, 'tis requisite I should fulfil all Things here, for which I was sent; and when I have so done, then to be received up to Him that sent me: But after this, I will send to thee one of my Disciples, that he may heal thy Distemper, and impart Life to thee, and those that are with thee.”

There

There was also subjoyn'd to these Letters, in the *Syriac* Language, as follows:

After that Jesus was received up, *Thomas* sent to him (*Abgarus*) *Thadæus* an Apostle, one of the Seventy; who, when he was come, lodged with one *Tobias* the Son of *Tobias*: But after the Wonders done by him, had render'd him conspicuous amongst them, it was signified to *Abgarus*, that the Apostle of Jesus was arriv'd there, as his Letter had promis'd. *Thadæus* therefore by the Power of God had begun to cure every Disease and Infirmary, infomuch that they all marvelled. But when *Abgarus* had heard of the mighty and wonderful Things that he did, and how he cured in the Name and by the Power of Jesus Christ, he began to reflect, that this was he, of whom Jesus had formerly sent him Word, saying, *After that I am received up, I will send to thee one of my Disciples, who shall cure thy Distemper*; having therefore sent for *Tobias*, where he lodged, he said to him— I have heard that there is a certain Man of great Power come from *Jerusalem*, who lodges in thy House, and works many Cures in the Name of Jesus: To which he reply'd; 'Tis true, my Lord, a certain Stranger is come, who dwells with me, and does many wonderful Things; then *Abgarus*—— Bring

him hither, says he, to me : Then *Tobias* returning to *Thadæus*, acquainted him—— *Abgarus* the Governour sent for me, and bad me bring thee to him, that thou mightest cure his Distemper. *Thadæus* reply'd, I go—— for upon his Account I am sent hither with Power. The next Day therefore, early in the Morning, *Tobias* taking *Thadæus* along with him, went to *Abgarus* ; and when he was come in, *Abgarus* surrounded with his Nobles, on a sudden was surpriz'd at the Entrance of the Apostle *Thadæus*, as thinking he saw something great and heavenly in the Face of the Man ; which *Abgarus* having observed, he saluted *Thadæus* in the most respectful Manner ; which made all that were present to wonder ; for they had not seen that Distinction in *Thadæus's* Countenance, being only perceived by *Abgarus* ; who then ask'd *Thadæus*—— Art thou in Truth a Disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who thus said to me (in a Epistle) *I will send to thee one of my Disciples who shall cure thy Distemper, and impart Life to thee, and those that are with thee.* Then *Thadæus* said—— For this Reason I am sent unto thee, because thou hast had such great Faith in our Lord Jesus ; and farther, if thy Faith in him still increases, thy Petitions shall be granted, answerable to thy Faith.

Faith. Here *Abgarus*—— my Faith, says he, has been such, that I was resolved by Force of Arms to have cut in Pieces the *Jews* who crucified him, if the *Roman* Power had not over aw'd and prevented me. Then *Thadæus* said—— Our Lord and God Jesus Christ hath fulfilled the Will of his Father, and having done so, was received up to his Father. *Abgarus* says to him—— I have both believed in him, and also in his Father. Then *Thadæus*—— Wherefore, says he, I now lay my Hand upon thee in the Name of the same Lord Jesus : And this being done, *Abgarus's* Disease and Infirmary immediately left him. *Abgarus* was astonish'd ; for, what he had heard of Jesus, was now in Fact verified by his Disciple and Apostle *Thadæus*, who had cured him without the Application of any Medicine or Herbs ; and not only him, but also one *Abdus* the Son of *Abdus*, who was afflicted with the *Gout* ; who when he came near him (*Thadæus*) prostrated himself, and after Prayer and Imposition of Hands he recover'd. Many other Fellow-Citizens were likewise heal'd by the same Apostle, and great Miracles often wrought during the Time of his preaching the Word of God. After this, *Abgarus* thus addresses himself to *Thadæus* : the Things, which thou doest, are done

by the Power of God, and we our selves marvel at thee : But I do moreover, make it my Request, that thou wilt give me an Account of the *Coming* of Jesus, in what Manner it was ; as also concerning his Power, how he wrought those Miracles, of which we have been inform'd. Then *Thadæus* said—— I shall now forbear speaking of these Things, because I am sent to preach the Word in publick : But to Morrow cause all thy Citizens to assemble themselves before me, and I will preach to them the Word of God, and will sow in their Hearts the Word of Life ; will declare to them, how the *Coming* of Jesus was ; what his Mission ; and wherefore sent by the Father ; what the Power of his Works ; and what the Mysteries which he spake ; how he did these Wonders ; and what was uncommon in his Preaching ; concerning his Poverty and Humiliation ; how he humbled himself even unto Death, and lessen'd his Divinity ; what he suffer'd from the *Jews* ; and how he was crucified ; how he descended into Hell, and broke the strong Holds which had never been done before ; then rose from the Dead, and raised others likewise who had been asleep for Ages past ; how he descended alone, but ascended up with a great Retinue to his Father ; how he sitteth at his right Hand
with

with Glory in the Heavens, and with Glory and Power shall return again to judge the Quick and the Dead. *Abgarus* therefore gave Orders, that his Citizens should assemble the next Morning early, to hear *Thadæus* preach. “ And after
 “ this he commanded Gold and Silver
 “ ^a to be presented to him : But he de-
 “ clin’d the Present, saying, If we part
 “ with that which is our own, how shall
 “ we take that which is another Body’s ?
 “ These Things were done in the three
 “ hundred and fortyeth Year ^b; and be-
 “ ing truly translated, I thought they
 “ might very justly deserve to have a
 “ Place here.”

I fear, Madam, you’ll think this *Digression* has been too long ; and yet I cannot leave it neither, till I have endeavour’d to secure the Authority for so valuable a Piece of History, against the *Objections* of some *modern* Writers ; I say *modern*, because it was received in the same manner as the rest of *Eusebius’s* History for many hundred Years after *Euse-*

^a χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργύρον.

^b According to the Computation of the *Edeffins*, who reckon’d by the way of *Olympiads*. So *Valesius’s* Note on the Place.

bius's Death, who died in the *fourth* Century; and this I find asserted by the great *Vossius* ^a. Dr. *Cave*, who by his learned Writings has done so much Honour to his Country, and yet received so *little* himself, has taken some Pains to rescue this Piece of History from the froward Attempts of such *modern* Writers. I know, Madam, you are very well acquainted with his excellent Books, called *Primitive Christianity*, and the *Lives of the Apostles*; and the World is Witness, that you do *more* than read them: His Defence of these *Letters*, of our blessed Saviour and King *Abgarus*, is written in *Latin*; and, tho' you are no Stranger to that Language, yet, it may be, your Curiosity has not led you to look into his *Historia Ecclesiastica*; that delightful *Store-House* of Ecclesiastical Antiquity; and I am well assured, that great Man has made it near one *third part* bigger, by what he has left behind him in *MSS.* of which the World has been too long depriv'd already. It is in this Book, Madam, and in the following manner, that he asserts the *Genuineness* of these two Epistles. " I don't think, says he, that
 " such a venerable Piece of Antiquity

^a *In Notis ad Testam. Ephraim.*

“ should be so rashly laid aside as spuri-
 “ ous. For, first, as to our Saviour’s
 “ Epistle, there appears no Mark of Im-
 “ posture or Design in it, let the Con-
 “ text be considered from one end to the
 “ other ; nothing but what is highly con-
 “ sistent and agreeable with the Dignity,
 “ Goodness, and Wisdom of our blessed
 “ Lord: And this some of the *Cavillers*
 “ themselves^a, acknowledge, as not pre-
 “ tending to ground their Objection up-
 “ on any thing contained in the *Letters*.
 “ In the next Place, the great Fidelity
 “ and Authority of *Eusebius* weighs ex-
 “ ceedingly with me ; for he copyed these
 “ Letters from the very *Records* them-
 “ selves among the *Edessens*, and trans-
 “ lated them from the *Syriac* into *Greek* ;
 “ especially, when neither he himself
 “ could be easily imposed on, nor any
 “ Reason to be assigned, why he should
 “ have a Mind to put a Cheat upon us.
 “ Our Bishop *Pearson* (and who a better
 “ Judge than he ?) says truly of *Euse-*
 “ *bios* in the following Words, ^b *For my*
 “ *own part, says he, I maintain and in-*
 “ *sist upon it, that Eusebius took so much*
 “ *Care and Pains, and had so solid a*

^a *Riveti Crit. Sacr. L. 1. C. 1.*

^b *Vind. Ign. Par. 1. C. 8.*

“ *Judg.*

“ Judgment in examining those antient
 “ Writings relating to Christianity, which
 “ he supposed might contain several Things
 “ handed down by Tradition from the
 “ Apostles, that after this, there can be
 “ no room left for any one to doubt, either
 “ of his own Fidelity, or of those Writ-
 “ ings which he himself esteemed as GE-
 “ NUINE. Farther; the same is con-
 “ firmed by Ephrem, a Man perfectly
 “ acquainted with the Syriac Writings, as
 “ being himself a Syrian, and (what is
 “ still more to the Purpose) was a Dea-
 “ con in the very City of Edessa. In his
 “ Discourses to the People of that Place,
 “ ^a He says, *Blessed be this City of yours*
 “ *in which ye dwell ; for Edessa is a City*
 “ *famous for producing wise Men, and*
 “ *which (agreeable to what Christ had*
 “ *said) was in a publick manner blessed by*
 “ *his Disciples, but our Apostles. For*
 “ *when King Abgarus, who built this City,*
 “ *desired to entertain him, who had ap-*
 “ *pear'd as a Stranger upon Earth, I*
 “ *mean, Him who was the Saviour of all,*
 “ *our Lord Christ, he said,—— I have*
 “ *heard of all those Things, which thou*
 “ *hast done, and what thou hast suffered*
 “ *from those reprobate and contumelious*

^a In Testamento suo ; Ed. G. Voss.

“ Jews :

“ *Jews : Therefore, come hither and dwell*
 “ *with us ; the City which I have is lit-*
 “ *tle, but yet may be big enough for thee*
 “ *and me, whereupon our Lord admiring*
 “ *his Faith, and sending thither by the*
 “ *Messengers, hath all along blessed that*
 “ *City, strengthening the Foundations there-*
 “ *of. These Epistles are likewise quoted*
 “ *in a Letter, yet extant, sent to St. Au-*
 “ *stin^a, and 'tis needless to take Notice*
 “ *of Writers of a later date. As to the*
 “ *Writers, that were before Eusebius, not*
 “ *mentioning these Epistles, 'tis easily*
 “ *accounted for, when we consider that*
 “ *the Greek Fathers, being generally ig-*
 “ *norant of the Syriack Language, had*
 “ *hardly any Correspondence with the*
 “ *People of Edessa. Nor are the Argu-*
 “ *ments alledg'd on the other Side, of*
 “ *much Moment ; the chief of which I*
 “ *will examine. 'Tis objected first, That*
 “ *the Writers of the New Testament say*
 “ *nothing, either of these two Epistles,*
 “ *or of the Abgarian Ambassy ; which is*
 “ *own'd ; nor was it their Design to com-*
 “ *mit to writing all the Things that Je-*
 “ *sus did. St. John moreover expressly*
 “ *testifies^b, That Jesus did many other*

^a Ep. 263. ap. Baron. an. 31.

^b Chap. xx. 30. xxi. 25.

“ *Things*

“ *Things which were not written in that*
 “ *Book, &c.* ’Tis farther objected, that
 “ a Passage is quoted, in this Epistle of
 “ our Saviour, out of St. *John’s* Gospel;
 “ which yet was not compos’d till ma-
 “ ny Years after. I answer, some such
 “ like short Sentence is here and there
 “ met with, yet not in the very same
 “ Words, nor altogether the same Sense;
 “ for our Lord seems often to have made
 “ use of such sort of Apothegmes. But
 “ however, the *Sentence*, though it may
 “ have the same Sense with that in St.
 “ *John*, does not therefore prove, that
 “ it was taken thence. The Passage seems
 “ to be quoted out of the Prophets, and
 “ the learned *Valesius* refers to the sixth
 “ Chapter of *Isaiah*: Others seek for
 “ the Passage elsewhere. For my own
 “ Part, I should rather think, that Ex-
 “ pression in the Letter, *It is written of*
 “ *me*, might be understood, not so much
 “ of any particular *Place*, but of it’s be-
 “ ing the common Language of the Pro-
 “ phets; in which Sense it often occurs
 “ in *Clemens Romanus* and other Wri-
 “ ters. ’Tis farther urg’d against these
 “ Epistles, in point of *Time*: For in the
 “ common reading of *Eusebius*, these
 “ Things are said to have been done at
 “ *Edessa* in the 43d Year of Christ. But
 “ this Scruple is happily removed by
 “ *Valesius*,

“ *Valesius*, who shews from MSS. and
 “ the *Epocha* of the *Edeffens*, that the
 “ 340th Year (which is the true reading)
 “ agrees with the same Year, when Christ
 “ suffered and rose from the Dead. Ha-
 “ ving thus given my own Opinion, sup-
 “ ported in this manner, I submit the
 “ whole to the Judgment of the learned
 “ World, nor will I engage my self in a-
 “ ny Dispute about the Matter.

And now, Madam, after this Digressi-
 on and what I have offer'd concerning *Samuel's Appearance* at *Endor*, I am apt to
 think, you may have still some *Scruples*
 remaining about it; as whether it was
 the *real* Soul of *Samuel*, or whether the
 Almighty would permit any *such Appearance*
 to be. We may safely affirm, that,
 without the Divine Permission, it was not
 in the Power of any Infernal Spirit to
 have effected it. But whether, consider-
 ing all the particular Circumstances of
 the Fact, and the strict Relation had be-
 tween *Saul* and *Samuel* when alive, such
 an *Appearance* may not be reasonable; or
 whether such *Appearance* be any ways in-
 consistent with infinite Wisdom and Jus-
 tice, seems to be the main Question. *Samuel*,
 when he had anointed *Saul* to be
King, might be said to continue still
Judge of the People; tho' they were so
 fond of a Change in Government, and ob-

obstinately affected the Title of *King* for their Governour. 'Tis evident, *Samuel* still retain'd the *judiciary* Power, and was prime Minister in all Affairs besides ; 'twas the peculiar Office of *Samuel* to *instruct*, to *advise* and to *reprove Saul* : But when he grew very wicked, and *Samuel* found all Methods unsuccessful ; he left him with this Prophetick Sentence denounc'd against him, *The Lord hath rent the Kingdom of Israel from thee this Day, and hath given it to a Neighbour of thine that is better than thou*. This was the last time that *Samuel* took any Notice of *Saul* ; *Samuel* went to *Ramah*, and there mourned for *Saul*^a ; he knew, that *Saul's* Kingdom was soon to be taken from him, and was also really concern'd for *Saul's* Condition after this Life ; the good old Man therefore *mourns*, though he was no Transgressor himself, for *one* that was a very great Offender, but without any Remorse for his own Sins. With these Thoughts the Soul of *Samuel* went down to the Grave : But at *Endor*, Madam, you have the same Words explain'd, that *Samuel* made use of, when he took his leave of *Saul*. *Samuel* told *Saul*, just before they parted, *The Lord hath rent the King-*

^a 1 Sam. xv.

dom, &c. And here at *Endor*, he reminds him of this memorable Conversation, in the following Words ^a: *The Lord hath done for himself, as he spake by me: For the Lord hath rent the Kingdom out of thy Hand, and given it to thy Neighbour, even to David.* But if this Argument be not sufficient for inferring it to have been the real Soul of *Samuel*, it may then, I think, be reasonably ask'd, whether any infernal Power was or could be in it's own Nature privy to such Discourse, as pass'd between *Saul* and *Samuel* when alive, and which was afterwards repeated at *Endor*? It must be allowed, that to search the Heart and Reins is a Privilege belonging to the Almighty: *No Man, nor Devil, knoweth the Things of a Man, but the Spirit that is in him: And 'tis the Spirit that searcheth the deep Things of God:* It seem'd a sufficient Argument, that Christ was God, when he let the *Scribes* see, that he knew their Thoughts ^b, and were infernal Spirits constantly acquainted with the inmost Recesses of our Souls, our Temptations would be more violent, and the Victory still rendred more difficult. I know very well, the Reply to this, is, that such Knowledge might, and often

^a 1 Sam. xxviii. 17.

^b Mat. 9.

has

has been communicated to *Dæmons*, for executing the Almighty's Will and Pleasure here. This I readily grant : But then, as I said before, considering all the Circumstances of this *Appearance*, why may it not be more reasonable to suppose *Samuel* by divine Appointment divulging his *own Thoughts*, than to have 'em communicated, and then divulged in so solemn a Manner by an infernal Spirit ? Or what is there in this unbecoming the Majesty of Heaven ? The greatest Objection, Madam, to this *real Appearance* of *Samuel*, (at least it has the greatest Weight with me) is, that since *Saul* says of himself, just before he went to *Endor* ^a, *That the Lord answered him not, neither by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets* ; that therefore, it should seem inconsistent, to suppose the Almighty afterwards concern'd in giving him an *Answer* from the *Dead* ; especially when 'twas what he himself had forbid by an express Law— This is the Substance of all that has been objected, either by any of the Antients, or by *Leo Allatius* and other Moderns ; you are then, Madam, to weigh in the Ballance what has been already offered concerning the *real Appearance* of *Samuel* ;

^a 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

muel; what the Judgment of those Antients I quoted; and whether the Reasons supposed to induce them in forming such Judgment are of any force: And, as to the present Objection, I should think it might be safely answered, in saying, that *Saul's* wicked Intention of having Recourse to *Necromancy*, might induce the Almighty to *interpose*, and hinder both him and the Woman executing that, which they were then going about to do, and yet at the same Time to give *Saul* the strongest Assurances (not subject to any Illusion) of the sudden Destruction that was coming upon him. You observe, Madam, by the History, *the great Confusion* the Woman was in at *Endor*; what a terrible Cry or Howl there was, when she was surpriz'd at the *Appearance* of *Samuel*. This *Pythonefs*, we may conjecture, had not time given her, to put her self in Order for playing the Magick Tricks she intended; or, it may be, the *Appearance* was not only sudden, and therefore such as she might conclude she had no hand in, but was in *another* Manner, than what she was before used to; and some Commentators have accordingly observ'd, that probably *Samuel* did not *ascend* by the Rules of *Necromancy*, but in a Posture quite different. I am therefore inclin'd to think, Madam, that *Samuel's real Ap-*

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pearance

pearance may be very well admitted, without supposing the Almighty to have been consenting to the *Breach* of any divine Law; and that it was by no means inconsistent, that God, after having denied a wicked Man's Request, in not *answering him by Dreams*, &c. should take the Opportunity, and use Methods more agreeable with his own infinite Wisdom and Justice, in denouncing *Saul's* Doom by that very Person, who had anointed him King, and made it his sole Business to support him in his Throne; that Person, whose Counsel he had rejected, whose Prophecies he had dreaded, and which Prophecies, as a Prelude to his approaching Misery, he was to hear declared by him from the other World in a more full, awful and terrible Manner, than he had heard 'em in this. And thus, Madam, I leave the whole with you, and will not venture to affirm any thing farther in this Matter of *Samuel*, than in assuring you, that I pay the same Regard to the *Passage* already quoted out of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, which the antient Fathers did. I could easily produce several very material Testimonies from them; from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *St. Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *St. Ambrose*, besides that from *St. Austin* already mention'd, in Behalf of that Book; and many of them believ'd

liev'd it to be *Solomon's*, though collected and digested by *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*. Our Church did not settle the *Canon* of Scripture, or exclude this Book in the *Articles* drawn up in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* And when it was done in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, the Books then stil'd *Apocryphal* are no otherways distinguish'd than they were of old by St. *Jerome*, viz. *the Church doth read them for Example of Life and Instruction of Manners, but yet doth not apply them to establish any Doctrine.* By *Doctrine* we must understand *such*, and *such* only, as relates to any Article of our *Faith*. The *Doctrine* at present, *Madam*, is not of that Sort; nor is our *Salvation* in the least concern'd, whether we reject or admit the *Doctrine*, which has been thus advanc'd.

After what has been said then, concerning this *particular* Appearance of *Samuel*, I will now beg leave to give you my Thoughts concerning *Appearances* in *general*: For should you be inclin'd, *Madam*, to think as I do, concerning the *real* Soul of *Samuel* at *Endor*, yet we must still think of it, as an Appearance *particular* and extraordinary, so order'd by the Almighty, it may be, for many wise and good Ends; but by no means infer, that therefore the *real* Soul of *Julius Caesar*

was at *Philippi*; or that there may not be Resemblances of Persons alive but absent, as also deceas'd; and Communications that way, as well as by *Dreams* and *Visions*, and yet the Souls of such Persons whether alive or deceas'd, whether good or bad, knowing nothing of the Matter, and no ways privy to such Communications appointed or permitted by the Almighty, unless he sees fit to order it otherwise. It is in this Sense and no other, that I shall treat of the present Subject; and I am not without Hopes of giving you some Satisfaction, before I have done with it.

The Doctrine of Substances *spiritual*, or what, in Contradistinction to Bodies corporeal and visible, we often call *immaterial*, is a Doctrine, which the better and more thinking Part of the Heathen World easily apprehended, and of which they were thoroughly convinced both by Reason and Experience^a, to the great Reproach of those *mongrel Jews*, who say, that *there is neither Angel nor Spirit*^b. The Author to the *Hebrews* styles the Almighty the *Father of Spirits*^c. Such *Spirits* must all confess, as well as we that are of another

^a *Aristot.* 8. *Phys.* & 12. *Metaphys.*

^b *Acts* xxiii. 8.

^c *Chap.* xii. 9.

Mould,

Mould, that 'tis *he who hath made us, and not we our selves*: Some of them were so unhappy, as to forget it, when through their Pride and Envy they *lost their first Estate, and are reserved in everlasting Chains under Darknes unto the Judgment of the great Day*^a. These are now distinguish'd by the Name of *Dæmons* or *Devils*; whereas those, who retain'd the happy Estate in which they were first created, have now in common the Name of *Angels*, tho' different *Orders*, as the Scripture informs us. The *one* are continually roving about in this sublunary World, seeking whom they may ensnare, and how to encrease their Kingdom of Darknes; the *other* as vigilant in taking heed to their Charge, as *ministring Spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be Heirs of Salvation*^b.

Now, Madam, by the *Appearance* of a *Spirit*, I would in general (or without taking the Word *Appearance* in the strictest Sense) be understood, that such *Substances* spiritual and immaterial, good and bad, have often been and still may be manifested in such a Manner, though not without the Appointment or Permission

^a Jude vi.

^b Heb. i. 14.

of the Almighty, as to be easily apprehended by one, more, or all of our *Senses* : But then, as our *Senses* are to be consider'd several Ways, so there are as different Ways, wherein such *Appearances* occur. Sometimes the Communication is only *mental* ; sometimes the Representation is rendred strong to the Imagination ; at other times, the outward Senses themselves engaged in such *Appearance*. You easily observe, Madam, that the Old and New Testament afford us several Instances for illustrating these Distinctions. Nay farther, we there learn, that there may be sometimes undoubted *external* Proof given of *immaterial* Substances being present, and yet no *Appearance* at all. 'Twas so, when by the *Ministry of Angels* the Law was given to the People ; when there was enough to prove their Presence, but nothing more perceived, than *Thundrings, the Noise of the Trumpet and the Mountain smoaking* ^a. And so it was likewise, when, by the same Executioners of the Almighty's Will and Power, the Course of Nature was alter'd, and the Sun and Moon stood still at the Voice of a Man ; *When Joshuah said in the Sight*

^a *Exod. xx. 18.*

of *Israel*, *Sun*, stand thou still upon *Gibeon*, and thou *Moon* in the *Valley of Ajalon* ^a. But, Madam, as to the Scripture Account given of the *Ministry of Angels*, I chuse rather to reserve *that*, to be more particularly treated of, when I come to consider *St. Peter's* Deliverance out of Prison; which you desired might be one Part of my Letter. Let the Business then at present be, to speak of the *Nature* of such *Appearances* or Communications from the other World, whether *internal* or *external* as the Almighty hath either appointed or permitted in Heathen or Christian Countries; though be pleas'd to observe at the same Time, Madam, that since I don't here restrain my Discourse to *external Appearances* only, there will be much less for me to say, when the particular Appearance or Communication to *Pilate's* Wife becomes the Subject. I remember, you have sometimes told me, that you had read over a great many Books about *Apparitions*, and that you thought there was just Reason to reject many of them as *fabulous*: I entirely agreed with you in Opinion; and I farther added, (which I shall beg leave to explain more particularly in some of

^a *Josh. x. 12.*

these Letters) that 'twas not improbable, but the Degeneracy and Prophaneness amongst Christians might be one Reason, why such Communications by Dreams and Visions are so rarely permitted amongst us, as formerly. I shall be very careful, Madam, in offering any thing to you upon the present Subject, but what I think is supported with the best Authority, as well as Reason; so far as Reason may have to do in the Matter. The great *Mistake*, that People are generally led into, when they read such Books, as you mention'd, (and you frankly own'd it to be your own Case) is, they imagine, in the Affair of *Apparitions* and *Communications* from the other World, that the *real* Souls of Persons deceas'd are concern'd, and acquainted with the Matter transacted; whereas we are rather to conclude, that such *Souls departed* may be *generally* utter Strangers to what is so permitted or appointed by the supreme Governour; and that they continue just in the same State they were, upon their Dissolution here. The Case has been often evidently *so* in Regard to the *Living*; and why may we not account for it in the same Manner, as to the *Dead*? I mean, 'tis a Truth beyond Contradiction, that there have been Persons in all Ages and in all Parts of the World, whether *Heathen* or *Christian*,

tian, who have either by an external Appearance, or Dream or Vision, been advised, instructed, or acquainted by some Friend or Relation, in whose Resemblance they could not be mistaken; and yet such Friend or Relation has not only been at a great Distance, and in a good State of Health, but, as it has afterwards prov'd, was perfectly ignorant of the Matter, as to such Advise or Information given under such Resemblance. St. *Austin*, Madam, in that curious Treatise, which I have twice quoted already ^a, gives some remarkable Instances to this Purpose; and he makes himself one of them. “ *It* “ has been related, says St. *Austin*, that “ some *dead* Folks, whilst their Bodies “ have continued above Ground unburied, have *appear'd* to Persons *living*, “ either in their Sleep or in some other “ Manner, they being wholly ignorant “ where such Bodies lay, and that having signified where the Places were, “ pressed them to give Burial, which had “ been neglected. If it shall be reply'd, “ that these Things are not true, such “ Reply (says the Father) may well be “ term'd *impudent*; because 'tis not only “ questioning the Authority of some Au-

^a *De Curâ pro Mortuis gerendâ.*

“ thors of known Credit, as to what
 “ they relate ; but 'tis arraigning the ve-
 “ ry Senses of those, who affirm that
 “ Things of this Nature have befel 'em :
 “ The proper Answer therefore, or Ac-
 “ count to be given of these Things is,
 “ that we are not to imagine, such dead
 “ Folks are any ways affected, or con-
 “ cern'd in the Affair themselves, because
 “ they seem to speak, to signifie, and
 “ make it their Request to Persons *living*,
 “ in their Sleep or otherways : For many
 “ who are *alive* often appear to one ano-
 “ ther in their Sleep ; and yet such, who
 “ so appear, know nothing of it them-
 “ selves, till they have the Account from
 “ the other ; who declare that they saw
 “ them in their Sleep talking or acting
 “ such and such Things. If then a Per-
 “ son can see *me* in his Sleep, acquaint-
 “ ing him with something that's just come
 “ to pass, or, it may be, foretelling
 “ something that's yet to happen ; when
 “ I at the same time am an utter Stran-
 “ ger to those Things, and probably ne-
 “ ver so much as came into my Thoughts,
 “ whether that Person was up or no,
 “ when I went to Bed, or whether we
 “ might be awake or asleep at one and
 “ the same time or no, when he so saw
 “ me : Why is it then to be wonder'd
 “ at, that Persons *deceas'd* should seem
 “ to

“ to present themselves to the *Living* in
 “ their Sleep, and to impart some Things
 “ to them, which they afterwards find to
 “ be true, and yet the *Deceas'd* may be
 “ unacquainted with such Things them-
 “ selves? For my own Part, I believe
 “ these Things are done by *Angels*, so
 “ appointed or permitted by the Almigh-
 “ ty—— But such is humane Frailty;
 “ when any one has seen a Person, that's
 “ *dead*, in his Sleep, he is apt to think,
 “ that the *Soul* of the *Deceas'd* then-ap-
 “ pears; and yet, when he shall have
 “ seen a *living* Person in the like Man-
 “ ner, he's thoroughly satisfied, that 'twas
 “ neither his Soul nor his Body, but the
 “ *Resemblance* of the Person that he saw;
 “ as if it was not *alike* possible, that there
 “ may be such *Resemblances* of *deceas'd*
 “ Persons in our Dreams, and yet the
 “ Souls of such Persons knowing nothing
 “ of it. When I was at *Milan*, 'twas re-
 “ lated as a certain Truth, that there
 “ having been made a Demand of a Debt,
 “ which had been really paid by one that
 “ was then dead; but the Son, on whom
 “ the Demand was made, being ignorant
 “ of it, and affrighted at the Sight of his
 “ Father's Bond produced against him,
 “ and thereupon thrown into a deep Me-
 “ lancholy, wondering that his Father,
 “ when a dying, and when he also made
 “ his

“ his *Will*, should take no Notice of his
 “ Debts: Under this Perplexity, the Fa-
 “ ther *appear'd* to him in his Sleep, and
 “ let him know where he should find a
 “ *Counter-Security* in Relation to that
 “ Debt: This being accordingly found
 “ and produc'd, he not only clear'd him-
 “ self, as to the false and scandalous De-
 “ mand that had been made, but like-
 “ wise recover'd the Bond under his Fa-
 “ ther's Hand, which he had carelessly
 “ suffer'd to lye out against him, when
 “ he paid the Money. Now, here the
 “ Man's *Soul* is suppos'd to take this
 “ Care of his Son, and to have come
 “ to him when asleep, and, by instruct-
 “ ing him in what he was ignorant, freed
 “ him from the great Trouble he was in.
 “ Likewise at the very same time, when
 “ I heard this, being then settled at *Mi-*
 “ *lan*, one *Eulogius*, a Professor of Rhetor-
 “ rick at *Carthage*, (who was once my
 “ Pupil in that way, and gave me the
 “ following Account, after I return'd to
 “ him into *Africa*) during the Course of
 “ Lectures which he was reading upon
 “ *Cicero's* Books of *Rhetoric*, happen'd,
 “ when he was overlooking a certain
 “ Lecture against the next Day, to meet
 “ with a Passage that seem'd very dark
 “ and obscure. Not being able to under-
 “ stand or to make himself Master of that
 “ *Passage*,

“ *Passage*, he went to bed very much dis-
 “ satisfied, and could hardly sleep for
 “ thinking of it: But that Night, whilst
 “ he was slumbring, I, it seems, ex-
 “ plain’d the Difficulty, and made that
 “ intelligible to him, which before was
 “ otherwise: But yet, it was not I, but
 “ a Resemblance of me, who knew no-
 “ thing of the Matter, was at a great
 “ Distance on the other Side of the Sea,
 “ and was either doing or dreaming
 “ something else at that Time, and had
 “ not the least Thought of that which
 “ then so much disturbed *Eulogius*. The
 “ Way or Manner how these Things may
 “ be done, is what I am at a Loss to de-
 “ fine; but let them be done which Way
 “ soever, what Objection can there be to
 “ our believing, that any one in his Sleep
 “ may see a Person that is *dead* in the
 “ same Way that he sees one that is *a-*
 “ *live*? Both of them being ignorant and
 “ unconcern’d, as well in Respect of the
 “ Person, as the Place and Time, when
 “ such *Representations* are made. Why
 “ are we not to believe, that these Things
 “ are done by *Angels*, thro’ the Dispen-
 “ sation of divine Providence, who uses
 “ both the *good* and *bad* for excellent
 “ Purposes, according to the Depth of
 “ his Counsels which are unsearchable?
 “ Whether it be for *Instruction* in some,
 “ or

“ or *Delusion* in others ; whether for
 “ *Comfort or Terror* ; every one’s Condi-
 “ tion is, either to taste of his *Mercy*, or
 “ *Indignation and Wrath* : And when the
 “ Church of God *sings of his Mercy and*
 “ *his Judgment*, we are to suppose such
 “ Expression not to be without its proper
 “ Force and Energy. In short, let every
 “ one judge, as he please, of this Dis-
 “ course of mine : *I will only add*, if the
 “ Souls of the Deceas’d did interest
 “ themselves in the Affairs of the *Li-*
 “ *ving*, and they themselves conversed,
 “ when appearing to us in our Sleep, ’tis
 “ certain my own good pious Mother
 “ (to name no more) would never let a
 “ Night pass without making me a Visit,
 “ since, when alive, she followed me both
 “ at Sea and Land, that she might live
 “ with me.” This was the Lady, Ma-
 dam, I remember you once mention’d on
 Account of some Affliction that had late-
 ly happen’d to a Relation of yours ; and,
 as you was pleas’d to express your self,
 you wish’d you might be so happy as
 to copy after your dear *Monica*. She was
 indeed a Woman of exalted Piety ; and
 when she came to die, at the Age but of
 fifty six, what a moving Scene was there
 between her and her Son at parting ? I
 fear, I shall incur your Displeasure, if I
 should omit it ; we meet with it in the
 tenth

tenth and eleventh Chapters of his ninth Book of *Confessions*; and I will be as brief as possible in relating it, though it may not be altogether Foreign to the present Subject neither. “ When the Day
 “ of *Monica's* Death drew near, and she
 “ had so contriv'd it, that she and her
 “ Son might be alone, the Discourse immediately began about the Happiness
 “ of the other Life, *such as neither Eye*
 “ *hath seen, nor Ear heard, nor hath it enter'd into the Heart of Man to conceive.*”
 St. *Austin* having for some time expatiated upon the Subject, and observed, how poor and mean the Delights of this World are, his Mother replies, — “ Son, as to
 “ my self, there is nothing belonging to
 “ this Life, wherein I take any Pleasure:
 “ What there is now for me to do *here*,
 “ is more than I am able to say, there
 “ being now an End of all that I *hoped*
 “ for in this World: There was one
 “ Thing indeed made me desirous of
 “ continuing for some time on this Side
 “ o'the Grave, that I might see Thee
 “ a thorough good Christian before I
 “ died. This my God has abundantly
 “ made good to me, in letting me live to
 “ see Thee his faithful Servant, and able
 “ to despise such terrene Happiness as
 “ well as my self.” St. *Austin* says, he
 does not well remember what Reply he
 made

made to these Words of his Mother ; but when she was dying, and her Soul seem'd for some little time to have taken its Flight, her Senses were soon restor'd, and she seeing him and his Brother standing by, she told 'em, " That as to her Body, " they might lay it where they pleased, " but would not have them trouble themselves about the Manner of her Burial ; " *All that I request of you is this, that as often as you approach the Altar of the Lord, you will not fail to remember me.*^a"

St. *Austin*, Madam, was soon at the Throne of Grace after his Mother's Decease ; The Prayer is heavenly, truly becoming so great a Prelate ; and the pious Breathings, which recommended his Mother's *Soul*, exalted and really promoted the Good of his *own*. But this is all I shall say of it, unless you shall hereafter lay your Commands upon me to say more. I rather now proceed, in considering how we are to account for these *Appearances* : And for my own part, I cannot see any better Foundation to build on, than what St. *Austin* has laid down. If this be allow'd of, we need not have Recourse to any such extraordinary Method, as might

^a *Tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad Domini Altare memineritis mei ubi fueritis.*

probably be the Case of *Samuel*; nor need we suppose the *real* Soul of *Julius Cæsar* to have been at *Philippi*, when Heaven was determin'd to chastise a wretched *Brutus*; did I say *wretched*? That's too mild a Term, since you know, Madam, he was remarkably *ungrateful*: When that's the *Crime*, no *other* need be nam'd: And yet, methinks *Murder*, a Sin of so deep a Dye, should not be pass'd over in Silence neither: Take then the Reflection made upon it, as it stands recorded in one of the greatest Monuments of Learning, that has appear'd in the present Age, (and which, 'tis likely, has a Place in your own Closet) *Dr. Prideaux's Connection of the Old and New Testament*.

" The Murder of *Cæsar*, says he, was a
 " most base and villanous Act, and was
 " the more so, in that the prime Authors
 " of it, *Marcus Brutus*, *Decimus Bru-*
 " *tus*, *Cassius* and *Trebonius*, and some o-
 " thers of them, were such as *Cæsar* had
 " in the highest Manner oblig'd: Yet it
 " was executed under the Notion of an
 " high Heroic Virtue, in thus freeing
 " their Country from one whom they
 " called a Tyrant; and there are not
 " wanting such as are ready even in our
 " Days to applaud the Act: But divine
 " Justice declar'd it self otherwise in this
 " Matter; for it pursued every one of
 " them

“ them that were concern’d herein, with
 “ such a just and remarkable Revenge,
 “ that they were every Man of them cut
 “ off in a short Time after in a violent
 “ Manner, either by their own or other
 “ Men’s Hands. ——— ’Tis evident, an
 “ over-ruling Power of Providence set up
 “ *Cæsar* as a fit Instrument for the Work
 “ which he brought to pass ; carrying
 “ him through all Dangers and Hazards
 “ to the full accomplishing of it ; and af-
 “ ter that, when there was no more for
 “ him to do, cast him off to perish like a
 “ Rod, which is thrown into the Fire
 “ when no more to be us’d. The Work
 “ was God’s, but it being Malice and
 “ Ambition that excited him to be the
 “ Instrument in the Execution of it, he
 “ justly had for the Reward thereof that
 “ Destruction by which he fell ——— He
 “ sufficiently prov’d himself to have been
 “ a terrible Scourge in the Hand of God,
 “ (having, as *Pliny* observes, in fifty
 “ Battles, which he fought, slain eleven
 “ hundred ninety two thousand Men)
 “ for the Punishment of the Wickedness
 “ of that Age in which he liv’d ; and
 “ consequently he is to be reputed the
 “ greatest Pest and Plague that Mankind
 “ then had therein : But notwithstanding
 “ this, his Actions have with many ac-
 “ quired great Glory to his Name ; where-
 “ as

“ as true Glory is due only to those who
 “ benefit, not to those who destroy Man-
 “ kind.” I flatter my self, you’ll pardon
 this Digression; and I proceed to observe,
 that if *St. Austin’s* Explication of *Appari-*
tions be allow’d of, we easily account, as
 Christians, for those *Communications* from
 the other World in *Dreams*, that have
 been so frequent in all Ages relating to
Futurity; to the private or publick good;
 to the rewarding of Virtue and the Pu-
 nishment of Vice. There is no one thing,
 the whole World has all along been more
 agreed in, than this ^a. And though the
 Heathen were Strangers to the *Angelic*
Dispensation, or God’s governing the
 World in that Manner, with which we
 are well acquainted; yet these Things
 were carefully attended to by them: They
 knew, there must be some Power supe-
 rior to themselves, who did these Things;
 the visible Effects of such a Power fre-
 quently admonish’d them, that ’twas their
 Duty and Interest to regard it ^b. “ I

^a *Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam
 atque doctam, neque tam immanem, tamque barbaram,
 quæ non significari futura, & à quibusdam intelligi,
 prædicique posse censeat. Cic. de Divin. L. 1.*

^b *Quid quæris, Carneades, cur hæc ita fiant, aut quâ
 arte perspicì possint? nescire me fateor; evenire au-
 tem te ipsum dico videre. ib.*

“ am of their Opinion, says the *Roman*
 “ Orator ^a, who make two Sorts of *Di-*
 “ *vination*; the one, done by *Art*; the
 “ other, without any *Art* at all; the first
 “ sort are those, who by *Observation*
 “ have learnt, how Things were former-
 “ ly, and so are better able to form their
 “ Conjectures, how Things may fall out
 “ at present: But the other Sort are such,
 “ who use no *Art* at all, who either by
 “ a strong Emotion of Mind, or else by
 “ a free and easy Impulse, without rea-
 “ soning upon the Matter, or making a-
 “ ny *Observation* or *Conjecture* from ex-
 “ ternal Objects, have a real Fore-know-
 “ ledge of several Things that are to
 “ come to pass; and the same Thing,
 “ says he, often happens to People in
 “ their Dreams, &c.” The many Instan-
 ces that *Cicero*, *Pliny*, *Plutarch* and o-
 thers have given, and so well attested
 by their own and the Authority of o-
 thers, concerning *Appearances*, whether
 in Dreams or otherways, are certainly
 best explain’d in the Manner that I have
 already laid down from *St. Austin*. For,
 when *Cicero* tells us ^b, from the Writings
 of *Dionysius*, of that great Prince *Cyrus*,
 that having seen in his Sleep the Sun

^a *Ib.*

^b *Ib.*

lying

lying at his Feet, and *thrice* endeavour'd, but in vain, to lay hold of it; he was afterwards acquainted by the *Magi* (a wise and learned Sort of People that liv'd in *Persia*) that by the *Dream* was signified, he should reign *thirty* Years; which so came to pass; *Cyrus* living till he was seventy Years old, and began his Reign at forty; who sees not, that the Almighty was then governing among the Heathen as well as among the *Hebrews*, and, by his subservient Ministers, was concerning himself as well in the Dream of *Cyrus*, as in the Interpretation of it? 'Tis observable from most of our antient Historians, that when a People had once distinguished themselves in Wickedness, and their Sins becoming *national* made them ripe for divine Vengeance, and necessarily called for a *national* Punishment, such Punishment was usually signified by some previous *Communications*, from the same infinite Power that was to inflict it. *Hannibal*, after he had ruin'd *Saguntum*, was favour'd with a remarkable *Vision*, letting him see before hand, that he was the Instrument design'd by Heaven to check the Pride and Luxury of the haughty *Roman*: The Account of this Matter is given us by *Cicero*^a, who likewise quotes

^a *Lib. 1. de Divin.*

an Author for it, that had been very careful in writing a particular History of *Hannibal's* Affairs ; and the Account is this : “ *Hannibal*, when he had taken *Saguntum*, found himself one Night in his Sleep summon'd, as he thought, by *Jupiter* to attend a Council held by the Gods ; where being come, *Jupiter* commanded him, that he should forthwith carry the War into *Italy* ; and one of the Council being assign'd him as a Guide or Leader in that Affair, and he making use of him as such, thought he had already put his whole Army in Motion ; upon which his Leader charg'd him not to look behind him ; but this having rais'd his Curiosity, he could not long forbear casting an Eye backward : When lo ! a Beast of a monstrous Size, fierce, environ'd with Serpents, and throwing down Houses, Trees and whatever came in it's Way : This wonderful Sight induc'd him, as he thought, to ask of the God, what might be the Meaning of such a Monster ; and that God answer'd him, 'Twas to signify the Havock and Calamity that would befall *Italy* ; and bad him proceed forthwith, and to take no Care about what might happen behind him.” This Dream or Vision, Madam, soon unriddles that Resolution of

Han-

Hannibal's in passing over the *Alps*, and his surmounting so many Difficulties; Difficulties, so astonishing, that we are in some sort of Pain for the Historians, when they relate the Facts — But so it was (as the Poet sings) after this Vision:

Conquest with Laurels did his Arms adorn,

And Rome in Tears of Blood his Anger mourn.

Cicero, from the same Historian, tells us one thing more concerning this mighty Warrior *Hannibal*; he, it seems, pursuing his Conquests in the farther Part of *Italy*, where stood the Temple of *Lacinia*, and having a strong Fancy to see of what Metal a Pillar in that Temple was made, (which he took to be Gold) first made an Experiment by boring through it, which convinc'd him that 'twas solid Gold; and being determin'd to carry it off, he was forewarn'd in a *Dream* by one, that he thought resembled the Goddess *Juno*, charging him to desist; and moreover threatening him, that in Case he did what he then intended to do, she should so order it, that he should loose the Sight of his other Eye: *Hannibal's* quick and piercing Judgment would not

suffer him to neglect the *Dream*, and accordingly he made an Image of the Gold that he had scoop'd out, and plac'd it upon the Top of the Pillar. 'Twas about six Years after the Death of *Hannibal*, and near two hundred before Christ; that the Temple at *Jerusalem* had like to have been plunder'd of an immense Treasure; but the Almighty prevented it by an extraordinary *Apparition*, which he appointed for that Purpose. We have the History in the second Book of the *Maccabees*, as follows: *Seleucus* King of *Asia*, hearing that the Treasury in *Jerusalem* was full of infinite Sums of Money (as the Historian expresses it) and not being satisfied with the Riches that *Asia* otherwise afforded him, sends his Treasurer *Heliodorus* to *Jerusalem* to take Cognizance of the Matter, and to bring away the Money, and put it in his own Coffers. This rais'd an inexpressible Consternation through the whole City; *Onias* the High Priest acknowledg'd to *Heliodorus*, that there was such Money laid up in the Temple, amounting in all to four hundred Talents of Silver, and two hundred of Gold; but that 'twas chiefly apply'd in relieving Widows and Fatherless Children: However, *Heliodorus* proceeded to execute the King's Pleasure, and a Day was appointed for entering the Temple;

ple; when the Priests prostrating themselves before the Altar in their Priests Vestments, called unto Heaven upon him that made a Law concerning Things given to be kept; when others ran flocking out of their Houses to make a general Supplication, because the Place was like to come into Contempt; when the Women girt with Sack-Cloth under their Breasts, abounded in the Streets, and the Virgins that were kept in, ran, some to the Gates, and some to the Walls, and others looked out of the Windows, and all holding their Hands towards Heaven, made Supplication: Now, when *Heliodorus* had enter'd the Temple, and was present himself with his Guard about the Treasury, the *Lord of Spirits*, or Lord of our Fathers, and the Prince of all Power caus'd a great *Apparition*; so that all that presumed to come in with him, were astonished at the Power of God, and fainted and were fore afraid: For there appeared unto them an Horse with a terrible Rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair Covering, and he ran fiercely, and smote at *Heliodorus* with his Fore-feet, and it seemed, that he that sat upon the Horse, had compleat Harness of Gold: Moreover, two other young Men appeared before him, notable in Strength, excellent in Beauty, and comely in Apparel, who
stood

stood by him on either Side, and scourg'd him continually, and gave him many sore Stripes: And *Heliodorus* fell suddenly unto the Ground, and was compassed with great Darkness: But they that were with him, took him up and put him into a Litter: Thus the Temple, which a little before was full of Fear and Trouble, when the Almighty Lord *appeared*, was filled with Joy and Gladness. And whilst the High Priest was making an Atonement at the Request of *Heliodorus's* Friends, and calling upon the most High to grant him his Life, the same young Men, in the same Cloathing, *appeared* and stood beside *Heliodorus*, saying, Give *Onias* the High Priest great Thanks, in as much as for his Sake the Lord hath granted thee Life: And seeing, that thou hast been scourged from Heaven, declare unto all Men the mighty Power of God: And when they had spoken these Words, they *appeared* no more. *St. James*, Madam, assures us, that *the Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick; and that the effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much*: But here, were Multitudes at the Throne of Grace, besides *Onias*, and Heaven suffer'd Violence, as well in delivering the Oppressed as in healing the Oppressor. The Apparition, you observe, is expressed under the Resemblance of a Horse, a Rider, and

and two other young Men, yet 'tis plainly said afterwards, that the Almighty Lord *appeared*. These Things were frequent under the *Jewish* Dispensation; and when we come to consider St. Paul's Conversion; the *Appearance* to *Ananias*, and such other Occurrences in the New Testament (which I shall do, when I treat of St. Peter's Deliverance out of Prison) we shall find the same Things done under the *Christian* Dispensation likewise. I cannot dismiss this *Maccabean* History, without relating another *Communication* made from Heaven to the *Jews*, which was done by the way of *Vision*, about fifteen Years after the external *Appearance* just mention'd. *Demetrius* returning from *Rome*, and seizing the Kingdom of *Syria*, dispatches his General *Nicanor* with a powerful Army against the *Jews*; and that he might the easier and more effectually destroy that People, he soon resolv'd to fall upon them on the *Sabbath-Day*, when he concluded they would not fight in Honour to the *Day*; this was suggested to some of the *Jews*, who were compell'd to go with him, and endeavoured to dissuade him from so barbarous an Action: But the General thinking he had the Ball in his Hand, and growing exceeding proud and haughty, began to blaspheme; and demanded of those *Jews*,
if

if there were a Mighty One in Heaven, that had commanded the Sabbath-Day to be kept; and when they reply'd, There was; *Nicanor* said, I also am Mighty upon Earth, and I command to take Arms, and to do the King's Business. On the other Hand, *Judas Maccabeus* the Jewish Governour had ever sure Confidence that the Lord would help him: Wherefore, he exhorted the People, not to fear the Coming of the Heathen, against them, but to remember the Help which in former Times they had received from Heaven, and now to expect the Victory and Aid which should come unto them from the Almighty: And so comforting them out of the Law and the Prophets, and withal putting them in Mind of the Battels that they won before, he made them more cheerful: And when he had stirred up their Minds, he gave them their Charge, shewing them there withal the Falshood of the Heathen, and the Breach of Oaths. Then he acquainted them with the *Vision* that he had had, *viz.* That *Onias*, who had been High Priest (but was traiterously murder'd by *Andronicus*) a virtuous and good Man, reverend in Conversation, gentle in Condition, well-spoken also, and exercised from a Child in all Points of Virtue, holding up his Hands, prayed for the whole Body of the *Jews*:
This

This done, in like Manner there *appear'd* a Man with grey Hairs and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent Majesty : Then *Onias* answer'd, saying, This is a Lover of the Brethren, who prayeth much for the People, and for the Holy City, to wit, *Jeremias* the Prophet of God : Whereupon *Jeremias* holding forth his right Hand, gave him a Sword of Gold, and in giving it spake thus : Take this holy Sword, a Gift from God, with the which thou shalt wound the Adversaries. After this, *Judas Maccabeus* seeing a Multitude of the Enemy drawing near, the diverse Preparations of Armour, and the Fierceness of the Beasts, stretched out his Hands towards Heaven, and called upon the Lord. — O Lord, Thou didst send thine *Angel* in the time of *Ezekias* King of *Judea*, and didst slay in the Host of *Sennacherib* an hundred fourscore and five thousand ; wherefore now also, O Lord of Heaven, send a good *Angel* before us, for a Fear and Dread unto them. Then *Judas Maccabeus* and his Company fighting with their Hands, and praying unto God with their Hearts, slew no less than thirty and five thousand Men : For through the *Appearance* of God they were greatly cheered, &c. These two Books of the *Maccabees*, Madam, which we have in our Bible, are
often

often quoted by St. Cyprian, St. Jerom, St. Austin and other antient Fathers: The late learned Dr. *Prideaux* makes great use of *them* in that excellent Work of his (which I don't doubt but you have read) *the Connection of the Old and New Testament*: The first Book of the *Maccabees*, he says, is a very accurate and excellent History: But the second Book, in his Opinion, does by no means equal the Accuracy and Excellency of the first; be that as it will; he quoted it to serve the Subject he was upon, and I have done the same. That *Dreams* and *Visions*, were very common in the *Heathen* World, as well as amongst the *Jews*; we find evident from the Accounts given in the time of their Captivity: For 'tis not only said of *Daniel*^a, *That he had Understanding in all Visions and Dreams*; but also that the King of *Babylon* found him and his Companions *ten times better than all the Magicians and Astrologers that were in all his Realm*. Had *Daniel*, Madam, lived in the Days of *Hannibal*, and convers'd with *him*, as he did with King *Nebuchadnezzar*, he would have improved *Hannibal's* Thoughts upon his *Visions*, by giving him right Notions of God's

^a Chap. i.

Providence; and there would not, in all Probability, have been so much time spent, in convincing the one, *that the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will*^a, as there was spent in convincing the other; for *Nebuchadnezzar* was first sent to graze with the Beasts, till his *Hairs were grown like Eagles Feathers, and his Nails like Birds Claws*; and after that, *he bless'd the most High; confessing, that all the Inhabitants of the Earth are reputed as nothing; and that he doth according to his Will in the ARMY of HEAVEN, and among the Inhabitants of the Earth.* *Cicero* says^b, 'twas upon Record in their own *Annals*, when the *Roman Army* was press'd hard by the *Samnites*, and *P. Decius* one of the *Tribunes* was advis'd not to expose himself in the Manner he did, that he return'd for Answer, "He had already
 " in his Dream seen himself in the hottest Part of the Action, but yet pushing the Enemy with great Slaughter,
 " and gaining immortal Honour; and
 " the Event was answerable." *Socrates*, Madam, was able to tell his Friend *Crito* with great Assurance, that after *three Days* he should die; which accordingly

^a *Dan. iv. 32.*^b *Ib.*

fell out ; and he let his Friend farther know, that such Fore-knowledge was given him in his Sleep under the Resemblance of a *very beautiful Woman*. *Socrates* was then confin'd, waiting the Will and Pleasure of his Enemies : Heaven thought fit to soften his Passage, and that the Terrors of Death should be lessen'd by such a *Resemblance*. *Sophocles*, whom *Cicero* calls a *divine Poet* ^a, saw that sacrilegious Villain in his Sleep, who had stolen one of the golden Vessels out of a Temple ; *Sophocles* for some time took no Notice of the Dream ; till, being frequently admonish'd in that Manner, he went up to the *Ariopagus*, and gave publick Notice of the Matter : Upon which, the *Ariopagites* order'd the Person to be apprehended, who, being interrogated confess'd the Crime, and restor'd the Vessel. The *Roman* Orator in the Person of his Brother *Quinctus* takes Notice ^b of two very remarkable Dreams ; so well known, and the Relators, Men of such Authority, that he questions, if there be any one, that can possibly object to the Truth of them. The first is, of one *Simonides*, who having buried a Stranger that he saw expos'd and wanted that common Piece

^a *Ib.*^b *Ib.*

of Humanity; and he afterwards preparing to go on board a Ship, was forewarn'd by one who resembled the Person he had buried, that he should give over his intended Voyage, or that otherwise he would be Ship-wreck'd and loose his Life: Accordingly he turn'd back; and the rest that set sail, all perish'd at Sea. The other, is, of two *Arcadian* Friends travelling together, who when they came to a Place called *Megara*; the one lodg'd at an Inn; the other at a Friend's House; the latter, at the dead time of the Night, thought he saw the other in his Sleep entreating him, that he would come to his Assistance; for the Inn-Keeper was going to murder him: The Dream struck such a Terror, that he forthwith got up; but after he had a-while recollected himself, and thought there was nothing of Reality in what he had seen, he laid himself down again; and falling asleep, he was soon importun'd by the same Person, that, since he did not help him when alive, he would not fail to see Justice done, now he was dead; and for that Purpose, let him know, that the Inn-Keeper had thrown his Body into a Cart, and covered it with Dung; but requested, that he would be early at the Gate, before the Cart was gone out of Town; the Dream then made such an Impression, that meeting with the

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Carter

Carter next Morning at the Gate, and putting the Question home to him, what he might have in his Cart; the Fellow was so confounded, that he immediately took to his Heels; the Corpse was drag'd out; and the Inn-Keeper had the Punishment he deserv'd. The Remark that *Cicero* makes, Madam, is this——
What can possibly have more of Heaven in it, than this Dream? But why need we multiply Instances of this Nature (says he) or look back so far for them? You and I (Brother) have often talk'd of those two remarkable Dreams, which we have had our selves; and the Event prov'd both of them to have been of an extraordinary Nature. Cicero there gives the Particulars too long to be inserted. He readily grants, that Dreams are, many of them false, and perhaps obscure: But then 'tis no good Objection, he says, because some Dreams are false, that therefore none are true: And the Remark he makes afterwards, is, I think, excellently good, and deserves the particular Notice of some Gentlemen^a, who are so apt to make themselves merry with their own idle

^a ————— *Corpus onustum*

Hesternis Vitiis animum quoque pręgravat una.

Hor.

Dreams and those of others, when in Reality they *disqualify* themselves, and are not capable of dreaming otherwise. Our *Dreams would much oftner prove true*, says Cicero, *if we took Care to go to Bed sober: Whereas, when our Stomachs are overcharg'd with eating and drinking, whatever Things then present themselves, are seen in a confus'd and disorder'd manner*^a. And Cicero there shews from Plato, that Socrates was of the same Opinion, and gives us likewise a Philosophical Account of it from the same Author; which I shall not trouble you with at present. I rather chuse to observe, how Cicero refines upon those antient Philosophers, and treats the Subject in hand after such a manner, that few Christians will be found to have done it better. “ When the Soul, says he, in “ our Sleep has once withdrawn it self “ from its troublesome Companion the “ Body, it then calls to mind Things “ that are past, takes a View of Things “ present, and sees afar off Things that “ are to come: For as to the Body, when “ a Person is asleep, he lies as if he were “ dead: Whereas, the Soul is then lively

^a *Quæ quidem somnia multò plura evenirent, si ad quietem integri iremus: Nunc onusti cibo & vino perturbata & confusa cernimus. ib.*

“ and strong ; and will be much more so
 “ after Death, when it has totally got rid
 “ of the Body : And therefore as the Dis-
 “ solution draws nearer, its Operations
 “ are proportionably more divine and
 “ powerful. This is plainly perceiv’d in
 “ any grievous and deadly Disease. Such
 “ Persons have commonly Representati-
 “ ons made to them of those that are
 “ dead ; they are then chiefly concern’d
 “ for a good Name ; and are most peni-
 “ tent for their Offences, if they have
 “ liv’d otherwise, than became ’em. But,
 “ that dying Persons do *divine*, or tell
 “ of Things to come, is evident from the
 “ Instance, given us by *Posidonius*, of
 “ one *Rhodius*, who, when a dying, nam’d
 “ six Persons who were much of the same
 “ Age, and declar’d, which of ’em would
 “ die *first*, *second* and so on.” ’Tis very
 plain from *Cicero*, there were a Sort of
 People in his Time, that gave no Credit
 to these Things ; which makes him say—
I may seem to tell dismal Stories and idle
Tales : But I have heard you (Brother)
tell something upon the present Subject, that
was plain Matter of Fact, and had nothing
of Fiction in it ; which was, that *C. Copo-*
nius, a Man eminent for his Prudence and
 Learning, who commanded the Fleet at
Rhodes, coming to you from *Dyrrhachium*
 (in *Sicily*) said, that a Waterman belong-
 ing

ing to one of the *Rhodian* Five-Oar Gallies had foretold, that *Greece* within less than thirty Days would be washed in Blood; that *Dyrrhachium* would be plunder'd; Men making their Escape by Sea, and leaving the Town behind them all in Flames; but that the *Rhodian* Fleet would soon have it in their Power to return Home: " You your self could not help
 " being concern'd at that time, and *Marcus Varro* and *M. Cato*, who were then
 " present, were under a very great Consternation: And truly, a few Days after, *Labienus* came, one of those that
 " had been put to Flight at the Battle of *Pharsalia*; and all the rest of the Prophecy was fulfill'd in a little time ^a.
Calphurnia's Dream, Madam, that first surpriz'd you, in reading *Shakespear*, and since occasion'd all the Trouble I am now giving you, has very good Authority to support the Truth of it, as you rightly conjectur'd when we first talk'd of it. *Valerius Maximus*, who writ about the beginning of *Tiberius's* Reign, gives this Account of *Calphurnia*, which he introduces thus: " *The Night before the Battle at Philippi*) when the two Armies were
 " drawn up ready to engage; *Octavius*

^a *De Divin. L. I.*

“ and *Antony* on the one Hand, and *Bru-*
 “ *tus* and *Cassius* on the other) *Artorius*,
 “ who was *Octavius's* Physician, receiv'd
 “ a Command in his Dream under the Re-
 “ presentation of *Minerva*, that he should
 “ advise *Octavius* not to stay in his Tent,
 “ though he was at that time very ill, but
 “ rather to be carried out the next Day in-
 “ to the Field of Battle ; *Augustus* com-
 “ ply'd with the Admonition given him by
 “ his Physician, being carried out in a Lit-
 “ ter ; and whilst he was intent upon Vic-
 “ tory, more than his Strength would allow
 “ of, *Brutus* forc'd his Camp ; and his
 “ Soldiers entring *Octavius's* Tent, push'd
 “ their Swords thro' the Bed where they
 “ thought he lay : And how can we a-
 “ scribe this Deliverance (says *Valerius*)
 “ to any thing else, but to a divine Provi-
 “ dence ? There was a late Instance, that
 “ made *Octavius* the more inclin'd to
 “ hearken to *Artorius's* Dream ; and that
 “ was *Calphurnia's* Dream relating to *Ju-*
 “ *lius Cæsar*, who had adopted *Octavius*.
 “ *Octavius* had heard, that *Calphurnia*
 “ had seen her Husband, the Night before
 “ he died, in her Sleep, stab'd in many
 “ Places and lying in her Bosom ; upon
 “ which, she was very importunate with
 “ him, that he would not go to the Senate-
 “ House the next Day ; but thinking that
 “ he should be reflect'd on, for minding a
 “ Woman's

“ *Woman's Dream*, he was resolv'd to go,
 “ and so was murder'd ^a. *Suetonius*, Ma-
 dam, who liv'd in *Trajan's* Time, and
 writ the Lives of the twelve *Cæsars*, takes
 Notice of several Prodigies pointing out
 the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, and appeals
 to the Authority of an intimate Friend of
Cæsar's concerning such Matters. He says
 of *Cæsar* himself, “ That the Night be-
 “ fore he was kill'd, he seem'd in his
 “ Sleep to be sometimes flying above the
 “ Clouds ; at other times to be shaking
 “ Hands with *Jupiter* himself : That his
 “ Wife *Calphurnia* thought, she saw the
 “ Cupola of the House tumbling, and
 “ her Husband stab'd in her Lappe ; and
 “ on a sudden the Chamber Doors flew
 “ open of their own Accord : But *Cæsar*
 “ scorn'd to regard these Things, and in
 “ a scoffing Way upbraided *Spurina*, that
 “ the *Ides* of *March* were come, but yet
 “ no Harm : To which he reply'd with a
 “ low Voice, that they were come in-
 “ deed, but not *past*. *Plutarch*, Madam,
 who was cotemporary with *Suetonius*, tells
 us, that *Calphurnia* was the Daughter of
Piso (a noble Family in *Rome*) and that
Cæsar upon his Marriage made *Piso* Con-
 sul for the Year following ; upon which,

^a *Lib. 1. Cap. 81, 82.*

Cato protested, exclaim'd, and grew very noisy; that it was a Thing not to be endur'd, that the Government should be so prostituted; or that Marriage should have such Influence, that all Promotions in the Common-Wealth should be made subject to a Female Administration. And yet you see, Madam, what little Power *Calphurnia* had over her Husband, when even his own Life was at Stake; notwithstanding the Clamour of that Malecontent; and sure, it had been much better for *Cæsar*, supposing he did part with the Reins of Government, when he first married (as *Cato* objected) not to have taken them wholly out of her Hands again, but to have made a just Compliment of some Part of it, for his own Advantage, and not stubbornly to have decreed her Judgment to be so much inferior to his own. Besides, she deserv'd much better at his Hands, than his former Wife *Pompeia*. *Plutarch*, likewise takes Notice of many more Prodigies relating to *Cæsar*'s Death, than is done by *Suetonius*, and quotes *Strabo* as to some Particulars; among other Things of this Nature mention'd by *Plutarch*, 'tis observable, that *Cæsar*, the Night before, doing *Marcus Lepidus* the Honour of Supping with him, and some Discourse happening to arise, what Kind of Death was most eligible, he immediately

ly cry'd out before any other, *A sudden Death*; tho' he was busying himself in signing Letters at the same time. *Plutarch* lets us know farther, that the Arguments which *Calphurnia* used, and the manner in which she expressed herself, did very much affect *Cæsar*; especially, when he recollected, that he had never before observ'd her to be *superstitiously* inclin'd; whereas she was now impatient and affected in an extraordinary manner; and had it not been for the vile Suggestions of *Decius Brutus Albinus*, those Arguments had undoubtedly prevail'd: *Calphurnia* had saved her Husband; and *Rome* their Dictator. 'Tis the same Author, Madam, that gives an Account of the *Apparition* to *Brutus*. *Plutarch* informs us, that *Brutus* was naturally very watchful, and by Exercise and Temperance had habitually accustom'd himself to sleep very little; and his Custom was to sleep a-while after Supper, and then to devote the rest of the Night to his weighty Affairs; and after that, if he had any time to spare, he used to spend it in reading some Book or other, till the third Watch; which was the time, the commanding Officers used to come to him: *Brutus* then, at the dead time of the Night, when there was a profound Silence through the whole Army, being
full

full of Thought and projecting with himself, as well about transporting the Forces out of *Asia*, as other important Matters, and having but a dim Light in his Tent, perceiv'd some Body, as he thought, coming into his Room: And turning his Eyes towards the Door, he saw a Person of an unusual Size, grim and terrible in his Aspect, standing near him, but not speaking a Word: Upon which, *Brutus* taking Courage, said, *Art thou Flesh and Blood, or art thou from amongst the Gods? What would'st thou have? And wherefore comest thou hither?* The Apparition with a hollow Voice said, *I am thy evil Genius, Brutus: But thou shalt see me at Philippi.* *Brutus*, without any Concern, reply'd, *I'll see thee.* There was accordingly the same Appearance at *Philippi*, but it said nothing, and forthwith vanish'd. *Brutus* told *Cassius* of this Appearance, the first time it happen'd: They had been often used to dispute about such Matters; and *Cassius*, being fond of *Epicurus's* Notions, endeavour'd to argue *Brutus* into a Disbelief of the Apparition: But *Brutus* found it true to the last. The same Historian, where he is running the Parallel between *Dion* and *Brutus*, says: "But
 " that which is most of all to be wonder'd at in those two Men, is, that a
 " frightful ill-natur'd Demon visibly appear'd

“ *pear’d to both*, and also appriz’d *both* of
 “ their Deaths. ’Tis indeed the common
 “ way of talking, among such as deny
 “ these Things, that no Man in his right
 “ Senses ever saw a *Phantom* or an *Ap-*
 “ *pearance* of any sort; but that only
 “ Children and silly Women, or else Men
 “ who have an ill Habit of Body and a
 “ distemper’d Brain, have such idle inco-
 “ herent Fancies come into their Heads,
 “ superstitiously believing that they are
 “ haunted by some evil Spirit: But, if
 “ *Dion* and *Brutus*, who were Philoso-
 “ phers; grave judicious Men; no ways
 “ credulous, or hastily giving into any
 “ Opinion, were so far affected with an
 “ *Apparition*, as to acquaint their Friends
 “ with it, I don’t see how we can well
 “ avoid admitting again the exploded O-
 “ pinion of the Antients; that wicked,
 “ deluding Spirits, envying *good* Men,
 “ oppose all that they do; injecting
 “ Fears and raising Disturbances in their
 “ Breasts, that they may shake and un-
 “ dermine their Virtue; lest by a steady
 “ and sincere Practice thereof, they should
 “ obtain a better Condition after Death
 “ than themselves. *Plutarch*, you see,
 Madam, was no Sceptick, as to the other
 World; and the old exploded Opinion
 he talks of, is certainly a good Christian
 Doctrine now: But then, you easily per-
 ceive,

ceive, that the *Doctrine* is not rightly apply'd, in Regard to *Apparitions*. *Pliny*, the younger, that great *Mæcenæ*s of his time, and as able a Statesman under the Emperor *Trajan*, had this Affair of *Apparitions* very much at Heart ; and, when he had time to spare, would consult his more judicious Friends about it. There's a whole Letter of his ^a to his Friend *Sura* upon this very Subject ; which I'll venture to translate, as well as I can : But very often 'tis not easy to put *Pliny* in an *English* Dress. “ The present Recess (says he) “ from Business gives me the Opportunity of learning, and you of informing me, upon the following Subject : I have “ a great Desire to have your Opinion about *Apparitions* ; whether there really “ be such Things ; whether they have “ their peculiar Forms or Shapes allotted them ; and whether some divine Power “ is concern'd in it ; or whether it be all “ a vain Chimæra, and such Representations owing to our Fears only : For my “ own part, what chiefly inclines me to “ believe such Things, is that which I “ hear happen'd to *Curtius Rufus*. When “ he was a Person low and obscure in the “ World, waiting upon the *Quæstor* in

^a Lib. 7.

“ *Africa*,

“ *Africa*, and one Day towards the Eve-
 “ ning stalking about and musing in the
 “ *Piazza*, there *appear’d* to him one, in
 “ the Shape of a Woman, bigger than
 “ the Life, and as much exceeding in
 “ Beauty: He being very much shock’d
 “ at the *Sight*, she told him that she was
 “ an *African*, come to tell him his For-
 “ tune; that he would go to *Rome*, there
 “ have Honours conferr’d on him^a; and
 “ after that would return into the same
 “ Province, vested with the highest An-
 “ thority, and there die. Now, all these
 “ Things came to pass accordingly: Nay,
 “ moreover, when he arriv’d at *Carthage*,
 “ and whilst he was disembarking, ’tis
 “ said, there was the very same *Appea-*
 “ *rance* on the Sea-Shore, as he had seen
 “ before. When Sickness at length had
 “ seiz’d him, and he guessing what would
 “ follow from what was already past; *viz.*
 “ the dark and gloomy part of Life, af-
 “ ter a Scene of Prosperity; ’tis certain,
 “ he did not entertain the least Hopes of
 “ Recovery himself, whilst not one of
 “ his Friends could see any Reason to
 “ despair of it. Another Incident, ra-
 “ ther more terrible than the former, and
 “ every whit as astonishing, I’ll give you

^a *Tacitus* relates the Story more particularly.

“ an Account of, just as I receiv’d it my
 “ self. There was at *Athens* a large spa-
 “ tious House ; but it had got an ill
 “ Name of being *haunted*, and no Body
 “ was able to live in it : About Mid-
 “ night there was a Noise ; and, if you
 “ was very attentive, you might fancy
 “ the ratling of Chains one against ano-
 “ ther, and perceive such ratling to hold
 “ longer, every time it was repeated :
 “ Soon after this appear’d the Resemb-
 “ lance of a Meagre, ill-favour’d old
 “ Man with a long Beard, a frightful
 “ Head of Hair, his Legs fetter’d, and
 “ his Hands chain’d ; and these he shook
 “ and rattled together : This so terrified
 “ the Domesticks, that they pass’d their
 “ Nights in a very sad, dismal Manner ;
 “ want of Sleep threw them into Distem-
 “ pers, and, their Fears encreasing, often
 “ ended in Death : For even in the Day-
 “ time, tho’ the *Spectre* was gone, their
 “ Imagination was as strongly affected,
 “ as if ’twas really before their Eyes ; so
 “ that the Fears of the *Spectre*, when pre-
 “ sent, occasion’d Fears of a longer Con-
 “ tinuance, whilst absent : Upon this, the
 “ House was quitted, and left to the *hi-*
 “ *deous* Monster to range about in alone :
 “ However a Bill was put up upon the
 “ Door, if any one should be inclin’d ei-
 “ ther to purchase or to hire it, ignorant
 “ of

“ of so great an Inconvenience attending
 “ it. There happen’d *soon after* to come
 “ to *Athens* a Philosopher called *Atheno-*
 “ *dorus*, who reading the Bill that was
 “ put up; and the low Price at which it
 “ was set, raising a Suspicion, and put-
 “ ting him upon making a farther Enqui-
 “ ry, he was soon let into the whole Se-
 “ cret; but nevertheless, nay rather up-
 “ on that very Account he resolves to rent
 “ it. Accordingly, when the Evening
 “ drew near, he orders his Bed to be
 “ made in the first Apartment *forward*,
 “ and calls for his Candle, Pen, Ink, and
 “ Paper; and having dismiss’d all his Fa-
 “ mily to their several Apartments *back-*
 “ *wards*, at a Distance from him, he sets
 “ himself to writing; his Hand, Eyes
 “ and Brain being all employ’d at once;
 “ that so his Soul might have no time
 “ allow’d it, either for imagining the
 “ Things he had heard reported, or for
 “ suggesting any idle Fears. The first
 “ part of the Night, all was hush and
 “ quiet, as usual; afterwards the Iron
 “ began to be shook, and the Chains to
 “ stir: *Athenodorus* neither looks up, nor
 “ lays down his Pen, but takes fresh Cou-
 “ rage, and resolves to shut his Ears:
 “ Then the Noise began to encrease, and
 “ something was heard to come forwards,
 “ as if it was sometimes at the Door, at
 “ other

“ other times within-side: Then *Atheno-*
 “ *dorus* looks back, sees and perceives
 “ the *Apparition* to be just the same, as
 “ it had been describ’d to him: It stood
 “ and becken’d with a Finger, as one
 “ does in calling another to him: *Athe-*
 “ *nodorus* on the contrary let him know
 “ by the Motion of his Hand, that he
 “ should wait a little; and then falls to
 “ writing again: Upon which the *Appa-*
 “ *rition* rattled his Chains about the o-
 “ ther’s Ears, as he was writing: *Athe-*
 “ *nodorus* looks back again, and sees the
 “ *Apparition* beckening as before; upon
 “ which, immediately he takes up his
 “ Candle and follows it. It went on ve-
 “ ry slowly, as if its Chains had been
 “ burdensome: After it had turn’d aside
 “ into a Court-Yard belonging to the
 “ House, it soon vanishes, leaving its
 “ Companion *Athenodorus*; who being
 “ thus left alone, gets some Grass and
 “ Leafes, and lays them in a Heap, to
 “ mark the Place of *their parting*. The
 “ next Day, he goes to the Magistrates,
 “ and advises them to give Orders, to
 “ have the Place search’d: Upon dig-
 “ ing; Bones are found link’d together,
 “ bare and corroded by the Chains, after
 “ Time and Mother Earth had corrupted
 “ the Flesh: The Bones being laid toge-
 “ ther, have publick Burial given them:

“ After

" After the Funeral Rites were over, the
 " House was no longer haunted. And
 " those who affirm this Matter to be true,
 " are Persons, that I give Credit to. One
 " thing more, I am able to aver the
 " Truth of my self; I have a Domestick
 " called *Mark*, no illiterate Fellow; who
 " has a younger Brother that lies in the
 " same Bed with him : He one Night
 " thought he saw a Person sitting up in
 " his Bed, clapping a Pair of Scissors to
 " his Head, and cutting the Hair off from
 " the very Crown : When 'twas Day-
 " light, he found the Crown of his Head
 " shav'd, and the Hairs lying about up-
 " on the Bed. Some little time after that,
 " another thing happen'd of the like Na-
 " ture, which serves to confirm the for-
 " mer. One of the Boys being asleep
 " with many more in the Lodging-room
 " belonging to Servants, two Persons in
 " white *Tunics* seem'd to come through
 " the Window, and to clip off his Hair,
 " as he lay in Bed; and after this, went
 " back again the same Way they came
 " in : When Day appear'd, this Boy's
 " Head was likewise found to be shav'd,
 " and the Locks of Hair scatter'd about.
 " Nothing remarkable follow'd, unless,
 " it may be, that I was not arraign'd at
 " the Bar; as I should have been, if *Do-*
 " *mitian* had liv'd a little longer, under
 " I " whose

“ whose Reign these Things happen'd :
 “ For one *Carus* having turn'd an Infor-
 “ mer against me, the Libel was found in
 “ *Domitian's* Desk : From which Event,
 “ there's room for Conjecture, that, as
 “ 'tis the Custom for *Defendants* to let
 “ their Hair grow long, so the cutting
 “ off the Hair from my two Servants
 “ might signify, that the Danger which
 “ threatned their Master would soon be
 “ over. I beg of you then, to exert your
 “ self, and shew the Learning you are
 “ Master of, upon this Occasion : 'Tis a
 “ Subject, that deserves to be seriously
 “ and thoroughly consider'd by you :
 “ Nor yet am I unworthy, to be made
 “ wiser by your diffusive Knowledge.
 “ Moreover, tho' you can argue, as you
 “ are used to do, on either Side of the
 “ Question ; yet do it strenuously on one
 “ Side, least you leave me in Suspense ;
 “ and when the very Reason of my con-
 “ sulting you was, that there might be
 “ no more doubting of the Matter. Fare-
 “ well.” You see, Madam, with what an
 honest Simplicity this great Statesman
 talks of *Apparitions*. Tho' he makes a
 Compliment to *Sura* for farther Informa-
 tion, yet you may observe, he is rather
 instructing than enquiring of his Friend
 at the same time. His own sound Judg-
 ment was sufficiently well known through
 the

the whole *Roman* Empire ; nor was there a greater Patron of Learning, or any one less a Stranger to it, than himself : But what makes him shine the most in the Christian World, is, the handsome Apology he makes for the Christians, when he writes to his great Master *Trajan* :
 “ He lets him know, that the Christians
 “ were a People, not addicted to any
 “ sort of Wickedness, as far as he was
 “ able to discover ; nor was any thing
 “ done by them contrary to the *Roman*
 “ Laws : For, as to Adultery and other
 “ enormous Crimes of that Nature, they
 “ were Things which they utterly abo-
 “ minated—— only, they caball’d, in
 “ getting together before Day-break, to
 “ sing their Hymns to a certain God cal-
 “ led Christ.” The Christians, Madam, you see in the beginning of the second Century extorted much the same Confession from *Pliny*, as the great Author and Finisher of our Faith did from *Pilate*, *What evil hath he done ? I find no Fault in this Man.* I am here reminded of putting an End to this long Letter, and of giving you shortly the Trouble of another concerning the *Dream* of *Pilate’s* Wife. But I am sensible, I have not yet acquitted my self of the Promise I made you, till I say something of *Apparitions*, well attested, in the *Christian Church*.

This often happen'd in the *Infancy* of Christianity, occasion'd chiefly by Heathen Powers triumphing in the Blood of its Professors. A Martyrdom often produc'd an *Apparition*; and *that* as often work'd the Conversion of Thousands. When a Saint had first bore its Testimony in the Flames, and after that return'd with a Commission from the other World, 'twas then high time for an Infidel to renounce his Country Gods, and to look up to the Saviour of Mankind. I can assure you, Madam, 'twas your Sex made that glorious Figure during those hot Persecutions; who were often distinguish'd from Heaven after their cruel Deaths; and were made the Instruments of conveying *new* Life to those, who had taken away their own. 'Twas the great, the renown'd *Potamiena*, who was *thus* honour'd, after her *Martyrdom*, for the Good of Mankind, under the Emperour *Severus*; who was two Years in *Great Britain*, about the Beginning of the third Century, and is said to have died here of the Gout at *York*. The Sufferings of *Potamiena* and her *Appearance* afterwards to *Basilides* her Executioner, has no less Authority to support it, than that of *Eusebius*, who was living about the latter End of the same Century; an Author, which I have had Occasion to mention to you before: And
it

it may be safely said (as a late Prelate of our own expresses himself) that he is a Stranger to *Eusebius*, that knows him not to be as nice and curious in examining the Credit of his Authorities, as any the most critical Authors whatsoever. Now, *Eusebius* says ^a, the Fact was much talk'd of by the Inhabitants, where *Potamiena* liv'd, even in his time: She was in her Person very beautiful; but yet more distinguish'd by her Chastity, in the many Repulses which her hot Lovers met with; and a thousand Hardships she underwent for her Faith in Christ: After she had suffer'd the most exquisite Torments (frightful even to relate them) she was at last burnt with her Mother *Marcella*. When *Potamiena* was led to the Place of Execution by *Basilides* the proper Officer, and the Mob teasing and reviling with their filthy, obscene Expressions; *Basilides* push'd them off, and shew'd a great deal of Pity and Humanity to her. *Potamiena* taking kindly the Concern, that *Basilides* had shewn for her, bade him take Courage; assuring him, that after her Death she would petition her Lord and Saviour in his Behalf, and that he should shortly be rewarded for what he had done for her.

^a *Hist. Eccl. L. 6. C. 5.*

Accordingly soon after her Death, *Basilides* being call'd upon, on some Account or other, to take an Oath, he averr'd that 'twas by no means lawful for him to take it; for he was a *Christian*, and as such he then declar'd himself. Those who *summon'd him* thought at first, that he had been in Jest; but having persisted in it, he was carried before the Magistrate; and there acknowledging the Charge of *being a Christian*, he was immediately laid in Irons. Some godly Brethren coming to him, and enquiring what might occasion such a sudden and unexpected Change of Mind, he is said to have reply'd, That *Potamiena* three Days after her Martyrdom, stood by him at Night putting a Crown on his Head, and letting him know, that she had supplicated the Lord in his Behalf; that her Request was answer'd, and that in a little time he would be Happy. *Basilides* made a glorious Confession of his Faith, and had his Head sever'd from his Body. And this occasion'd the Conversion of many more among the People at *Alexandria*, induc'd thereto by the Appearance of *Potamiena* in a *Vision* to *Basilides*. The *Vision* that *Alexander* had soon after, directing him to leave *Cappadocia*, and to repair to *Jerusalem*, in order to be Bishop of that Place, and the Brethren *there* having also
a *Vision*

a *Vision* to the same Purpose, is attested by *Eusebius* in as strong a Manner, as we can desire any part of History to be. I will give it you, as briefly as I can. This *Alexander* had signaliz'd himself very much during the Persecution; and God in his good Providence had wonderfully protected him: 'Twas now reveal'd to him in a *Vision* at Night, says *Eusebius* ^a, that he should go to *Jerusalem*, and assist in the Bishoprick then held by *Narcissus*, who was a hundred and sixteen Years old: The Brethren belonging to the Church at *Jerusalem* had not only the like *Revelation* made to them; but some of them, who were the most observing, heard a distinct Voice, signifying that they should go without the City, and there receive the Bishop that God had appointed them. This they did with the common Approbation of the Bishops belonging to the neighbouring Churches, and having thus receiv'd *Alexander*, they oblig'd him to continue amongst them; and upon the Death of *Narcissus*, *Alexander* became sole Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as he was before Coadjutor in the same Office. But perhaps, the most remarkable *Apparition*, that God appointed during the se-

^a Lib. 6. C. 11.

veral *Persecutions*, was that which *Gregory* Bishop of *Neo-Cæsarea* had in the third Century, upon his taking on him that weighty Office. I shall not venture to give you the Account it self, Madam, without premising some few Things; as well to introduce, as to establish the Truth of so great an Event, that happen'd in the *Primitive Church*; *Gregory's* Parents were Heathens; but he having studied at *Alexandria*, *Athens* and other Places, came at last to *Cæsarea*, where he went through a Course of all the polite Parts of Learning under his great Master *Origen*; with whom he liv'd about five Years; and during that time was thoroughly instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion^a: After this, *Gregory's* whole Life was one continued Scene of *Wonders*, which God enabled him to work in Confirmation of the Doctrine he professed; and for that Reason, he has been distinguished all along in the Christian Church by the Names of *Theodorus* and *Thaumaturgus*. *St. Basil*, who liv'd about the middle of the next Century, speaks thus of *St. Gregory*^b: "When we consider *Gregory* the Great, and the Words

^a *Vid. Cave Hist. Lit.*

^b *In Lib. de Spiritu Sancto C. 29.*

" which

“ which he spake ; in what Class shall
 “ we place him ? Shall we not rank him
 “ with the Apostles and Prophets ? a
 “ Man, who walk’d with the same Spirit
 “ as they did ; who, without deviating,
 “ trod in the Steps of those Holy Men ;
 “ and whose Life was conformable to the
 “ strictest Rules of the Gospel. *Gregory*
 Bishop of *Nyssa* younger Brother of *St.*
Basil, is the Person that writes the Life
 of this great Man *Gregory Thaumaturgus* ;
 and (as a late eminent Prelate of our own
 has observ’d) ^a the Bishop of *Nyssa* was
 truly qualified for such a Work, because
 he was thoroughly acquainted with the
 Writings and Actions of *St. Gregory*. And
 now, Madam, I will venture to give you
 an Account of the *Apparition* to *St. Gre-*
gory, as ’tis in his Life, written by the
 Bishop of *Nyssa* ^b ; I think my self the
 more obliged to use this Caution, because
 we live in an Age, wherein we but seldom
 hear of such Things, from any Primitive
 Writers, in our *own* Language ; or if we
 do, too many are apt ignorantly to cry
 out *Popery*, and then think that’s suffi-
 cient to confute the Writer ; though the
 Matter related, may perhaps have been

^a *Bulli Defensio Fidei Nicenæ, Sect. 2. C. 12.*

^b *Greg. Nyss. Opp. 3 Tom.*

several hundred Years before Popery was in being ; and consequently, such Declaimers do unwarily *arraign* the very Religion which they profess. The Account then, without any more Ceremony, is this : “ When *Gregory Thaumaturgus* had supplicated the Almighty, that he might
 “ have a thorough Knowledge given him
 “ of that Religion which he was then going to preach ; and one Night being
 “ very thoughtful about his *Pastoral Office* ; what Method he should take, in
 “ delivering *sound Doctrine* ; as also what
 “ the several Points then controverted
 “ concerning the *blessed Trinity* ; he had
 “ thereupon a *Revelation* made to him
 “ from Heaven : Nor indeed (says Bishop Bull) ^a ought it to appear incredible to any one, that a thing of this Nature should happen to a MAN, whose whole Life, as all Ecclesiastical Historians, who mention him (and there are scarce any, but do) unanimously agree, was remarkably famous, as well for Revelations as Miracles done by him. The Revelation then, made to St. Gregory, was in the manner following :
 “ There appear’d to him, when awake,
 “ one resembling an old Man ; in his
 “ Habit august and noble ; venerable and

^a Vide ut supra.

“ grace-

“ graceful in his Person, and of a pleas-
 “ ing Aspect ; all serving to express the
 “ Dignity and Excellency of the Man :
 “ Upon this, *St. Gregory* being astonish’d
 “ rose from his Bed ; wanting to know,
 “ who it might be, and upon what Ac-
 “ count he came : The other, having first
 “ with a low and submissive Voice less-
 “ en’d the Surprize, and compos’d the
 “ Mind of *St. Gregory*, told him, that he
 “ appear’d by the Appointment of the Al-
 “ mighty, on Account of those Matters,
 “ about which he had been hesitating ;
 “ that so the Truth might be manifested
 “ to every pious Believer : This being
 “ said, *St. Gregory* took Courage, and
 “ look’d at him with some sort of Plea-
 “ sure, but yet amaz’d at the same time :
 “ After this, the *Apparition* stretching out
 “ his Hand directly forwards, and as it
 “ were pointing out to something that
 “ was on the other Side ; and *St. Gregory*
 “ turning his Eyes accordingly, perceiv’d
 “ another *Apparition* under the Resemb-
 “ lance of a Woman ; but seemingly su-
 “ perior to any Mortal whatever. *St.*
 “ *Gregory* being again astonish’d, and look-
 “ ing downwards, was at a loss how to
 “ behave at such a Sight, not being able
 “ to behold the *Apparition* : And, what
 “ was farther very surprizing in this *Vi-*
 “ *sion*, though ’twas a very dark Night,
 “ there

“ there was a Light shining round about
 “ those who *appear'd*, as if some great
 “ Torch had been burning. Being then
 “ unable to look on, he gave Attention
 “ to the Discourse that passed between
 “ the Persons so *appearing*, concerning
 “ what he wanted to know ; by which
 “ means, he was not only truly instructed
 “ in what related to his Faith, but knew
 “ moreover *by Name* those who *appeared*
 “ to him ; they addressing each other by
 “ a proper Appellation : For he is said
 “ to have heard the Person, who *appear'd*
 “ like a Woman, exhorting the other, un-
 “ der the Name of *John the Evangelist*,
 “ to make manifest the Mystery of God-
 “ linefs to one, who was yet a Novice
 “ therein ; the other replying, that he
 “ was ready to perform what was so a-
 “ greeable to the *Mother of our Lord* ; and
 “ *St. John* having made a suitable Dis-
 “ course to *St. Gregory*, drawn into a nar-
 “ row Compass, they both *disappear'd*.
 “ *St. Gregory* immediately committed to
 “ writing the divine Instructions, that
 “ were given him : By *these* he regulated
 “ all the Sermons he afterwards preach'd ;
 “ and what he received from Heaven, he
 “ bequeathed as a Legacy to Posterity ;
 “ agreeable to which, the People of that
 “ Place (*viz. Neo-Cæsarea*) are instructed
 “ to this very Day, and continue Proof
 “ against

“ against all Heretical Pravity. This latter part of the Account, Madam, was one thing that weigh'd very much with Bishop Bull^a, *The History is given us* (says he) *by that great Man* (meaning the Bishop of Nyssa) *in such a manner, that no Man of Judgment can well doubt of it : For, he tells us that the People of Neo-Cæsarea were instructed, to that very Day, in this Confession of Faith that Gregory Thaumaturgus had receiv'd ; and that they continued free from all manner of Heresy. He that has a Mind to be farther satisfied about this Matter* (says the Bishop of Nyssa) *let him hear the Church, where the Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea preach'd, and where these Things under his own blessed Hand-writing are still preserved. You see, the very Hand-writing of Thaumaturgus is appeal'd to* (says Bishop Bull) *and that the People of Neo-Cæsarea had religiously preserv'd it till the time that the Bishop of Nyssa wrote his Life. This Confession of Faith was received in the Church, as derived from Thaumaturgus, in the time of St. Basil ; and was admitted as such by all the Fathers in the fifth General Council. 'Tis related by St. Austin in his Epistle to Paulinus, de Cura pro Mortuis, &c. that*

^a Vide ut supra.

Felix one of the Martyrs, when the City of *Nola* in *Italy* was hard press'd by a rude barbarous sort of People, appeared, not to one Person only, but to Numbers of the Citizens at once, being such of the Inhabitants, for whom formerly *Felix* had a great Respect : And *St. Austin* says, that he had unquestionable Authority for what he so relates ^a. The *Vision* that *Constantine* had, tho' 'tis well known and often talk'd of, yet I cannot pass it over ; considering 'tis so well attested by *Eusebius*, who tells us, that he had the Account from *Constantine's* own Mouth ; *Constantine* appealing to Heaven for the Truth of what he was going to tell ; and a little time sufficiently confirm'd it ^b. The Account given by *Eusebius*, is as follows :

“ About three o' Clock in the Afternoon,
 “ *Constantine* said, that he saw with his
 “ own Eyes a Pillar of Light in the Hea-
 “ vens in the Fashion of a Cross, placed
 “ over the Sun, whereon was an Inscrip-
 “ tion, (*Eusebius* does not say in what
 “ Language ; but in the *Greek*, which is
 “ the Language *Eusebius* writes in, the
 “ Purport was) IN THIS OVERCOME.
 “ *Constantine* was much startled, and so

^a *Non incertis rumoribus, sed Testibus certis.*

^b *Euseb. L. 1. de Vita Const. C. 28. &c.*

“ was

" was the whole Army that beheld it.
 " *Constantine* was in doubt for some time,
 " as he told me, what might be the mean-
 " ing of this *Appearance*; and whilst he
 " was musing and reasoning with himself
 " about it, Night came on; when our
 " Lord *appeared* to him in a Dream with
 " the Cross in his Hand, charging him
 " to make a *Standard*, that should resem-
 " ble what he had so seen in the Hea-
 " vens, and to have it born before him,
 " when he attack'd his Enemies, as an
 " Ensign of Victory and Safety. *Con-*
 " *stantine* getting up early in the Mor-
 " ning, disclos'd the whole Affair to his
 " Friends; and calling his Goldsmiths
 " and Jewellers together, he sits down a-
 " mongst them, and describes the Form
 " of the Thing he would have made,
 " and gave strict Orders that the Figure
 " should be express'd with Gold and preci-
 " ous Stones; and *such Standard Ense-*
 " *bius* says, he has sometimes seen him-
 " self. The Symbol, Madam, was thus



as 'tis describ'd by *Eusebius* at

large; and we often meet with it in the
 Reverse of the *Roman* Coins; the X, and
 the P struck through the former, being
 the two first Letters of Christ's Name in
Greek. I do assure you, Madam, this
 Letter

Letter would soon swell into a large Volume, should I pursue the Subject, I am now upon ; but I shall not proceed any farther, unless you are pleas'd to require more of this Nature another time. Give me leave to reflect a-while upon what has been said already, and then to believe it time to take my leave. In the last Instance but one, 'tis expressly said, that 'twas done by the *Appointment of the Almighty* : But I neither learn from the Bishop of *Nyssa* the Relator, nor from any other Father of the Primitive Church, that it was the *real* Soul of the Virgin *Mary*, or of *St. John* the *Evangelist* that *appear'd* ; and therefore am rather inclin'd to account for such *Appearances*, in the manner *St. Austin* has suppos'd, and which, you may please to remember, I have already taken Notice of ^a : And since we are assured, there are such Numbers of *ministring Spirits* ; why may we not suppose, that God *in general* may communicate his Mind to Mankind in *that* Way, when the Methods of his Providence upon any extraordinary Occasions shall so require it, either by *Dream*, *Vision*, or such *external Appearance* ? I remember *St. Austin* in another Place ^b, Reasons after

^a See Page 73, &c.

^b *L. 2. de Trin. C. 10.*

this manner ; but does it with singular Modesty : Nor would I offer it *otherwise* to you. He there says, when commenting upon that Passage in the Book of *Genesis*, of *God's talking with Man* whom he had formed out of the Ground, " That, " if we are to understand it *literally*, it " should seem to have been done by assuming a *Humane Shape* ^a. 'Tis true, " says he, this is not expressly laid down in that Book : But that Circumstance " of *Speech* ; and moreover, *Adam's* being said to have *heard* the *Voice* of the " Lord walking in the cool of the Day, " and to have answer'd, *I heard thy Voice* " and hid my self *from thy Face* because " I was naked, seem to imply as much : " Nor do I see, says St. *Austin*, how these " Expressions can be taken in a *literal* " Sense, without admitting a *Humane Likeness*. It cannot well be said, that " there was a *Voice only*, and nothing " else ; because He is said to have *walk'd* ; " and if *walking*, then *visible*, in such " manner as *Adam* might be said to *hide* " himself. St. *Austin* is there considering " a Question put concerning the Trinity ; " and says, *He made all Things by his*

^a *In specie Hominis videtur Deus cum Homine tunc locutus.*

“ *Word* ; which WORD we know, as a
 “ sure Article of our Faith, to be his on-
 “ ly Son. If God the *Father* spake to the
 “ first Man *Adam* ; *walk'd* in the Garden ;
 “ and the Sinner *hid* himself from his
 “ Face ; why may not He be understood
 “ to have *appear'd* to *Abraham* and *Mo-*
 “ *ses* and others, and in what manner he
 “ pleas'd, by a *Creature changeable and*
 “ *visible, made subject to his Will and*
 “ *Pleasure, though He himself in his Na-*
 “ *ture be invisible and unchangeable* ? I just
 hinted, as you observe, at the beginning
 of this Letter ^a, that *Angels* both good
 and bad do unquestionably serve the Pur-
 poses of an all-wise and infinite Being ;
 that they do not only communicate by
Dreams and *Visions*, but are enabled to
 cloath themselves with some *Etherial* or
Aerial Substance, and to assume the Like-
 ness of Persons that are departed, and
 gone to their eternal Rest ; tho' the *man-*
ner of it be as much above the Reach of
Man's Understanding, as the Union of his
own Body and Soul is : And I hope, Ma-
 dam, the Account I have given you from
 the *Heathen* and *Christian* World, sup-
 ported by the best Authorities in each,
 may have serv'd to make good what I

then advanc'd. But after all; will not some Persons be apt to tell you, (I know they will) that this *Letter* may possibly prove a pretty Amusement; but that the *Facts* related are all owing to the *Depravation* of the Humane Senses? I easily imagine *one* Gentleman who often waits on you, and is very *adroit* in this sort of reasoning, representing to you, that there is Abundance of *Melancholly* in some Constitutions; *Choler* very adust in others; *Frenfies*; *Fevers*; and a general *Imbecillity*, whether natural or accidental, in Humane Bodies; and that this is the Reason, that Men and Women imagine many Things that are not; that besides, there is a great deal of *Superstition* rooted in the Minds of most People, and requires Time and Pains to correct it by good Sense and Argument; which otherwise is apt to draw us into the Belief of Things that are not *true*: However, he tells you, as usual, that one thing is certainly to be laid down as *true*, viz. that nothing can *appear* to Men, that exceeds or goes beyond the *Powers* of *Nature*. Roundly affirm'd! But, Madam, when we come to talk of *Nature* seriously, we are as much puzzled about it (with that Gentleman's Leave) as we are about the *manner* of good and bad *Angels* assuming *Etherial* or *Aerial* Substances. And therefore if

he believes, that there is *One*, who commands *Nature*; and that almost every thing in *Nature* is calculated more for our Admiration than *Comprehension*; why should it be any Objection, if he cannot comprehend such a *way* or *manner* of the same infinite Being's communicating his Will to Mankind? We often act the Philosopher in talking of *Gravity*; and yet 'tis a Thing, we still find surpasses all the *Powers* of meer *Nature*, and all the Mechanism of Matter: No part of Matter can be the Cause of its own *Gravity*; no more than it can be the Cause of the *Gravity* of another Body. *Des-Cartes*, who in the last Age was reckoned the great Master of a *Mechanical* Hypothesis, does not suppose or admit of any *specific Difference* in Matter^a: Nor can any one well imagine otherwise, but that all the *Matter* of the World is of *one* Kind, as to its *Essence*. Here then our Understandings are manifestly at a Loss about *Motion*; and we then shew our selves to have most Reason, when we have Recourse to the Author of Nature; acknowledging, that this is a *Power*, which he has reserved in his own Hands; *Gravity* being the main Engine whereby the Uni-

^a *Princip. Philos. part 2. S. 22, 23.*

verse is managed and supported, and is principally concern'd in the most remarkable *Phænomena* of the natural World. Indeed, Madam, there's hardly any thing occurs in *Nature*, but serves to remind us of our Ignorance of Things here *below*, and therefore how little qualified to judge of Things *above*. One Drop of Water only, may convince us, if we please: And (what the Gentleman perhaps may be startl'd at) let that *Drop* of Water be well consider'd; the more he uses his Sense and Reason in the Matter, the more he will find his Understanding foil'd; for the Microscope, the more it enlarges the Sight, the *greater*. Trouble it gives to the rational Faculties in accounting for the Discoveries that are made. The Microscope indeed tells us, (or rather our capacious Souls know it to be true) that there are living Creatures in the Water *many Millions* of times smaller in Bulk than a *small visible Sand*^a. By an easy Calculation 'tis found, that there are not less than *twenty seven Millions* of such Animals to make the Bulk of *one small Grain of Sand*: But then, when we come to *reason* upon this

^a See Mr. *Leuwenhoek's* Letter, among the Philosophical Experiments of Dr. *Rob. Hooke*, publish'd by Mr. *Derham*, Page 55.

Matter, that has been so *artificially* conveyed to us; in what Confusion are our poor Souls, upon the Conclusions that are to be drawn, and the Assent that is to be given by us? *Each* of these *little Creatures* must be allow'd to have *Organs* or Instruments of some kind or other fit to produce the Motion with which they are endow'd: These *Organs* must be made up of Veins, Arteries, or Vessels, to convey Nourishment to them, and in Sinews or Strings by which they may stir and move: It must be farther granted, that the Water must find its Passage by these Vessels, and consequently the *Particles* of Water must be considerably *smaller* than these Vessels; and since the whole Animal it self is but scarcely visible, we must farther conclude, that such Vessels must be wholly invisible, and much more, the Parts of Water that move in them: And upon the whole, we have Reason to think, that as Microscopes will never help us so far, as to discover and distinguish the Particles of which Water does consist; so that the Almighty, had he design'd us for such curious Searches into the Works of his Hands, would have given us Senses much more refin'd for that Purpose, than what he has been pleas'd to allot us. I am persuaded, Madam, this Argument will have its due Weight with you, however

ever it may fail with others ; being well assured, that your Knowledge extends to Things, as well *natural* as *divine* ; and if our Notions of Things *material* are thus manifestly so very imperfect, and the *Phænomena* in the Terrestrial World are found not to lie level with our own scanty Reason, why are Things relating to the Cœlestial World to be called in Question ? I will only observe that the *Lucians* of the present Age take much the same Method as their Master did ; who, in Opposition to the most renown'd Philosophers of his time, could find no better Argument against *Apparitions* in general than this, *viz. I don't believe them : Because I only amongst you all did never see any of them ;* and as for the rest, 'twas put off with a *Jest*. But a *Jest*, without an Argument, will do no great Mischief : And such Gentlemen should be often reminded of the Inference, which the *Roman* Orator draws, where he is arguing about Things of this Nature, *viz. I am fully apprized, says he, that these Matters may be had in Contempt, and made the Subject of Ridicule and Buffoonry : But then, such Persons ought to know, that the very Reason why they act so, is, because they don't believe in any superior Being, and consequently make light of every Thing that is communicated from the*

other World ^a. I have often wonder'd, how the *Sadducees* could deny the Being of *Angels* and *Spirits*, (as we read in the Gospel they did) since *Moses* so often makes mention of them, and of their *appearing* to Mankind; I do therefore for my own part take the *Sadducees* to have been a complaisant sort of *Atheists*, who outwardly paid a Regard to some Parts of the *Jewish* Religion on Account of the People, but no otherwise: And this is the Reason, that *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho* the *Jew*, does not reckon the *Sadducees* in the Number of the *Jews*, but reputed them as *Hereticks*, not allowing them any Place in the *Jewish* Church. And *Celsus*, who was a sort of an Epicurean, copy'd exactly after the *Sadducees* (as may be seen in *Origen*, who there answers him) making a Jest of *Angels* and the Resurrection; and generally of all those *Apparitions*, which are mention'd both in the Old and New Testament. The true Reason then, Madam, why we are at a Loss in framing any Notion of *Spirit*, is, because our Souls are so *immersed* in *Matter* themselves: But then, if the *Diffi-*

^a Hec posse contamni, vel etiam rideri, præclare intelligo: Sed id ipsum est, Deos non putare: Quæ ab iis significantur, contemnere. Cic. Lib. 1. de Divin.

culty of framing a Conception of a Thing, be any just Argument against the *Existence* of the Thing it self; we must soon question the very *Being* of our own Souls; because their being *united* with our Bodies, as I have hinted already, is what we can form no Notion of here; we must moreover question, you see, what our *Microscope* tells us is *true* in the material World, *because* we cannot comprehend it; nay, if this sort of Argument is to be allow'd of, there will be nothing but *Spirit*, and no such thing as a *Body* left in the World; for *Extension* of *Matter* has so many Difficulties attending it, when we come to *reason* truly about it, that our Definition of *Body* is lame and imperfect; and when we once talk of finite and infinite *Division*, our Heads turn giddy; we run into Absurdities on either Side of the Question, and nothing is left us to *exist* by such Argument, but the *very Being* that reflects within us. There is then great Reason to affirm, that such who entertain a Disbelief of *Spirits*, *because* they cannot *understand*, what *immaterial* Beings are, do unhappily entertain a Notion, that *leads* to all manner of *Irreligion* and *Prophaneness*: For, when we have once banished the Belief of *incorporeal* Beings out of the World by such sort of reasoning; what is this, but carrying us on to the de-

dethroning of the supreme *Spirit* or Father of all? Let such then talk of their Belief in God; the Humane Soul; Angels and Devils; and of the Holy Scriptures too, which declare these Things to our Faith; yet if they will otherwise discard immaterial Beings, because they *cannot* frame a Notion of them; they are only giving the great Creator an empty Name, an insignificant Attribute, and in Reality, believing and speaking they know not what. I am pretty sure, there are many, who are not sufficiently aware of the fatal and pernicious Consequences of this *Sadducean* Principle; who are apt to think, they may very safely deny the *Existence* of *Spirits*, and yet that the *Being* of God is no ways affected by such a Denial; for God, they argue, might be *without* such *immaterial Substances*, as He was certainly *before* them: Nay God, say they, had been *God*, though he had not been a Creator. Thus the hardy *Deist*, to avoid the Force of *Revelation*, finds himself obliged to propagate his Poison; but this must end in real Atheism: For those that will not bluntly say, There is no God; when they argue in this manner, do really establish no other God, than what *Epicurus* and his Followers did; and that I must ever think, amounts to real Atheism: But, if *St. Paul* is to be hearken'd to;

to ; (and why should the Deist refuse it?) the invisible Things of him from the Creation of the World are clearly seen, being understood by the Things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead, so that they are, or (that they may be) without Excuse^a. When we talk of a Spirit then, as Christians, Madam, we talk of it in Opposition to such Bodies as we now carry about us; in the Sense, as our Saviour directs his Disciples to understand it, when they supposed they had seen a Spirit: *Handle me and see, for a SPIRIT hath not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have^b*. The Disciples were not ignorant, how frequent Apparitions were under the Jewish Dispensation; nor does our Saviour there give the least Intimation, that they were not to expect the Continuance of them under the Gospel: But rather corrects the gross Notions, which in a Fright they had conceiv'd in that Matter: *A Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones*; but yet it may have such an *Æthereal* or *Aerial* Vehicle, as may in other Respects serve to represent a Person as convincingly to our Senses, as if it had such a *real* Body, to which our Souls are here united. Thus much I

^a Rom. i. 20. *οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἀναπολόγητος.*

^b Luke xxiv. 39.

think,

think, Madam, may fairly be concluded from our Saviour's Words; and nothing more is desired to be granted: For, as to the *manner*, how *Spirits* may be united to such *Vehicles*, our Notions about that, are nothing more intricate, perplext or difficult, than *those* are, which the ablest Philosophers can give us either of their own Soul and Body, or of the Body in general. The honourable and renown'd Mr. *Robert Boyle*, did unquestionably know as much, if not more, of the *Powers* of Nature, than any Man whatever: And yet his Knowledge was not more extensive, than 'twas useful and serviceable to Religion. With what Piety does he reflect, in all his *Recherches*; adoring that infinite *Spirit that once moved upon the Waters*; confessing the *Mystery*, how God, the most simple and pure *Spirit* can act upon Matter; and how the Soul and Body work upon and affect each other? This learned Gentleman was well known to be a Person, by no means credulous in the Affair of *Apparitions*; and yet a Co-temporary of his, an eminent Author, Dr. Henry More in his *Collection of Philosophical Writings*, assures us, that Mr. Boyle, whilst at *Geneva*, was thoroughly convinced of the Truth of that Relation which he there had of a House at *Mascon* in *Burgundy* haunted in a very terrible manner.

manner. Mr. *Perreand*, whose House it was, gave Mr. *Boyle* at *Geneva*, a Copy of his Book, which he was going to print concerning the Affair. The learned *du Moulin*, in his Preface to Mr. *Perreand*'s Book, says, "That this familiar Conversation of the Devil was not in a Corner or in a Desert (where the Melancholy of Witches is supposed to make them fancy they converse with him) but in the midst of a great City, in a House where there was daily a great Resort to hear him speak, and where Men of *contrary Religions* met together; whose Proneness to cast a Disgrace upon the dissenting Parties did occasion the *narrow examining* and *full confirming* the Truth thereof, both by the Magistrate and by the Diocesan of the Place. Mr. *Boyle* had the Opportunity, as well of enquiring after Mr. *Perreand* the Relator, as concerning the several Passages in his Book; and yet (to use the Words of Dr. *More*) Mr. *Boyle* was so well satisfied, that he professes, that all his settled Indisposedness to believe strange Things was overcome by this special Conviction. I should not, Madam, have given you any modern Instance of Things of this Nature, had it not been introduced by so great a Name as that of Mr. *Boyle*; who ever thought it unreasonable

sonable to disclaim any certain Truth, *because* our Faculties are found not sufficient to comprehend it. He has given sufficient Demonstration in his Writings, how readily he believed St. Paul, where he talks of *spiritual Bodies*^a; and I cannot see any thing amiss, if those Words of St. Paul were translated, *such Bodies as Spirits or Angels have*. 'Tis certain, *we see through a Glass darkly*, when we talk of those Expressions of St. Paul relating to the *Change* of our Bodies: *We shall all be changed*; as well such, as are *asleep*, as such who shall be *alive* at the Coming of our Lord; but then St. Paul bids us observe, that this mighty *Change* is a *Mystery*: There will still be our *Body*; but then 'twill be a *Body* in Contradistinction to what we translate a *natural Body*^b: Our Bodies will be *pure* and *refin'd*; and these are the *spiritual Bodies*, says the Apostle: And our Saviour tells us^c, when *such Bodies* shall be given, *we shall be as the Angels which are in Heaven*. The *Angels* are represented by the Psalmist^d as a *flaming Fire*; and yet they are ministring *Spirits* too. They have therefore their respective Vehicles, either *Aerial* or *E-*

^a Σωματι πνευματικά, 1 Cor. xv. 44.

^c Mark xii. 25.

^b Σωμα ψυχικά.

^d Psalm civ. 4.

therial

therial and *Igneous*; so *Grotius* expresses himself ^a: And so *Dr. Hammond* paraphrases in the following Manner: "Tho' he be able to do all Things by himself, to administer the whole World, as he first created it, by a Word, by *saying*, and it was done; yet is he pleased to make use of the *Ministry* of Angels, who, some of them in *subtile Bodies* of *Air*, others of *Fire*, come down, and execute his Commands here upon Earth. But I forbear; for I am now entring upon a Subject, that you expect should be distinctly treated of, in another Place; when I come to consider *St. Peter's* Deliverance out of Prison by an *Angel*. I should rejoyce to have that Opportunity soon given me: But you have heard of my *Affliction*; and you have long known the *Oppressor*; who lived when the Royal Martyr died; and who yet lives a terrible Scourge, in the Hand of God, to me and mine: *I bear the Rod, and who hath appointed it* ^b. God sanctify the *Affliction*; and grant, that the Instrument, when his Work shall be accomplished, may not

^a *Sunt enim Angelorum alii Aerei, alii Ignei. Angelis Corpora sed subtilissima non Pythagora tantum & Platonis Schola sensit, sed & Judaei veteres, & veteres Christiani.*

^b *Micah vi. 9.*

be cast off, and perish like an useless Rod^a.
 I will not trouble you with Particulars.
 I rather hearken to the Instruction, that
Eliphaz the Temanite gave to *Job* ^b.
Things are sometimes secretly brought to us ;
in Thoughts from the Visions of the Night,
when deep Sleep falleth on Men ; Fear
comes upon us and trembling, which make
all our Bones to shake : Then a Spirit passed
before my Face, the Hair of my Flesh stood
up : It stood still, but I could not discern the
Form thereof ; an Image was before mine
Eyes ; there was Silence, and I heard a
Voice, saying, Shall mortal Man be more
just than God ? Shall a Man be more pure
than his Master ? Behold, he putteth no
Trust in his Servants ; and his Angels he
charged with Folly : How much less on
them that dwell in Houses of Clay, whose
Foundation is in the Dust ? Neither doth
Trouble spring out of the Ground : Yet Man
is born unto Trouble, as the Sparks flie up-
ward : I will seek unto God, and unto God
will I commit my Cause. 'Tis with the
 deepest Humility, but with a new sort of
 Pleasure that I now read the *Vision of Pas-*
tor Hermas ; that *Hermas*, Madam, who
 in the Opinion of his present Grace of

^a See Dr. Prideaux's Reflections, above p. 82.

^b Chap. iv. and v.

Canterbury^a, was one of *St. Paul's* Acquaintance, taken Notice of by him in his Epistle to the *Romans*^b, and whose *Book* was not only read publicly in the Churches of the Primitive Christians, but, as a farther Evidence of the Respect paid to it, his *Grace* observes, that, in some of the most *antient MSS.* of the *New Testament*, 'tis joyn'd together with the other Books of the Holy Scriptures. The *Vision* of this *Holy Man* (for so our learned *Metropolitan* justly calls him) relates, according to the Conjectures of two of our greatest *Criticks*, *Dr. Hammond* and *Mr. Dodwell*, to those Days of *Trial* and *Tribulation*, then at hand, in the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. " I saw a Vision, " Brethren, twenty Days after the former " Vision; a Figure of the Tribulation " that is at hand. I was walking in the " Field-way: Now, from the publick " Way to the Mannor *whether I went* is " about ten Furlongs. It is a Way very " little frequented: And as I was walk- " ing alone, I entreated the Lord that " he would *confirm* the *Revelations* which " he had shewed unto me by his Holy

^a See his Discourse prefixed to the Epistles of the *Apostolical Fathers*, Page 113.

^b *Rom.* xvi. 14.

“ Church ; and would grant Repentance
 “ to all his Servants, who had been of-
 “ fended, that his great and honourable
 “ Name might be glorified ; and because
 “ he thought me worthy, to whom he
 “ might shew his Wonders ; and that I
 “ might honour him and give Thanks un-
 “ to him. And behold ! somewhat like
 “ a Voice answer’d me ; *Doubt not*, HER-
 “ MAS. Wherefore I began to think, and
 “ say within my self ; why should I
 “ doubt, seeing I am thus settled by the
 “ LORD, and have seen such glorious
 “ Things ? I had gone but a little far-
 “ ther, Brethren, when, behold, I saw a
 “ Dust rise up to Heaven. I began to
 “ say within my self ; Is there a Drove
 “ of Cattle coming, that raises such a
 “ Dust ? It was about a Furlong off from
 “ me. And behold ! I saw the Dust rise
 “ more and more, insomuch that I began
 “ to suspect that there was somewhat ex-
 “ traordinary in it. And the Sun shone
 “ a little ; and behold, I saw a great
 “ Beast, as it were a *Whale* ; and fiery
 “ Locusts came out of his Mouth. The
 “ height of the Beast was about a hun-
 “ dred Feet ; and he had a Head like a
 “ large Earthen Vessel ^a. I began to weep,

^a *Vas urnale.*

“ and

“ and to pray unto the LORD, that he
 “ would deliver me from it. Then I
 “ called to Mind the Word which I had
 “ heard; *Doubt not*, HERMAS. Where-
 “ fore, Brethren, putting on the Faith of
 “ God, and remembring who it was that
 “ had taught me great Things, I deliver’d
 “ my self boldly unto the Beast. Now
 “ the Beast came on in such a manner, as
 “ if it could with one Blast have devour’d
 “ a City. I came near unto it; and the
 “ Beast extended its whole Bulk upon the
 “ Ground; and put forth nothing but its
 “ Tongue, nor once moved it self, till I
 “ had quite passed by it. Now, the Beast
 “ had upon its Head four Colours, first
 “ *black*, then a *red* and bloody Colour,
 “ then a *golden*, and then a *white*. After
 “ that I had passed by it, and was gone
 “ forward about thirty Foot; behold!
 “ there met me a certain *Virgin* well a-
 “ dorned, as if she had been just come
 “ out of her Bride-Chamber, all in white,
 “ having on white Shoes, and a Vail
 “ down her Face; and covered with shin-
 “ ing Hair. Now, I know by my former
 “ *Visions* that it was the *Church*; and
 “ thereupon grew the more chearful. And
 “ she saluted me, saying, *Hail O Man!*
 “ I returned the Salutation, saying, *Lady,*
 “ *Hail!* she answering said unto me, Did
 “ nothing meet you, O Man? I reply’d,

“ there met me such a Beast, as seem’d
 “ able to devour a whole People : But
 “ by the Power of God, and through his
 “ singular Mercy I escaped it. Thou
 “ didst escape it well, said she, because
 “ thou didst cast thy whole Care upon
 “ God ; and openest thy Heart unto him ;
 “ believing that thou couldst be safe by
 “ no other, than by his great and ho-
 “ nourable Name. For this Cause the
 “ LORD sent his ANGEL, who is over
 “ the Beasts, whose Name is HEGGIN,
 “ and stopp’d his Mouth, that he should
 “ not devour thee. Thou hast escaped
 “ a great Tryal by means of thy Faith,
 “ and because thou didst not doubt for
 “ such a terrible Beast. Go therefore, and
 “ relate to the Elect of God, the great
 “ Things that he hath done for thee.
 “ And thou shalt say unto them, that this
 “ *Beast is the Figure of the Tryal that is*
 “ *about to come.* If therefore ye shall
 “ have prepared your selves, ye may es-
 “ cape it, if your Heart be pure and
 “ without Spot ; and if ye shall serve
 “ God all the rest of your Days with-
 “ out complaint. *Cast all your Cares up-*
 “ *on the Lord, and he will direct them.*
 “ Believe in God, ye Doubtful, because
 “ He can do all Things ; He can both
 “ turn away his Wrath from you, and
 “ send you Help and Security. Woe to
 “ the

“ the Double-minded, to those who shall
 “ hear these Words, and shall despise
 “ them ; it had been better for them, that
 “ they had not been born. Then I ask’d
 “ her concerning the *four Colours*, which
 “ the Beast had upon its Head. But she
 “ answer’d me, saying, Again art thou
 “ *curious*, in that thou askest concerning
 “ these Things. And I said unto Her,
 “ shew me what they are. Hear, said
 “ she : The *black* which thou sawest, de-
 “ notes the *World* in which you dwell.
 “ The *fiery* and *bloody* Colour signifies,
 “ that *this Age* must be destroy’d by Fire
 “ and Blood : The *Golden* Part are Ye,
 “ who have escaped out of it : For as
 “ Gold is try’d by the Fire, and is made
 “ profitable ; so are ye also in like man-
 “ ner try’d, who dwell *among the Men of*
 “ *this World*. They therefore that shall
 “ endure to the End, and be proved by
 “ them, shall be purged. And as Gold
 “ by this Tryal is cleansed and looses its
 “ Dross ; so shall ye also cast away all
 “ Sorrow and Trouble ; and be made
 “ pure for the building of the Tower.
 “ But the *white* Colour denotes the *Time*
 “ *of the World which is to come*, in which
 “ the Elect of God shall inhabit : Be-
 “ cause the Elect of God shall be pure
 “ and without Spot unto Life eternal.
 “ Wherefore, do not thou cease to speak
 “ these

“ these Things in the Ears of the Saints.
 “ Here you have the Figure of the great
 “ Tribulation that is about to come :
 “ Which, if you please, shall be nothing
 “ to you. Keep therefore in mind the
 “ Things which I have said unto you.
 “ When she had spoken thus much, she
 “ departed : But I saw not whether she
 “ went. But suddenly I heard a Noise,
 “ and I turn’d back, being afraid : For I
 “ thought that the Beast was coming to-
 “ ward me. His Grace, where he is tak-
 ing Notice of some Critics objecting to
 this Work of *Pastor Hermas* ^a, mentions
two Writers of our own Nation, but *such*
 (says he) *as will serve instead of many to*
all judicious Persons ; who have at large
 justified it against the Chief of those Ex-
 ceptions that have been taken at it ; the
one, the most excellent Bishop *Pearson* ^b,
 in his Vindication of St. *Ignatius* ; the
other, the learned Dr. *Bull* ^c, in his De-
 fence of the *Nicene Faith*, in the Point of
 our blessed Saviour’s Divinity ; and which
 he largely shews our present Author (*Her-
 mas*) to have been far from doing any
 Prejudice unto : And his Grace, after
 treating the Subject with great Learning

^a Page 123.

^b *Vind. Ignat. Part. I. C. 4.*

^c *Def. Fid. Nic. S. I. C. 2,*

and singular Modesty, speaks in particular as to these *Visions*: “ That tho’ such
 “ *Visions* as we there read of, being no
 “ longer continued to these latter Ages,
 “ may warrantably be despised in the Pre-
 “ tenders of the present Days ; yet we
 “ cannot doubt, but that at the time
 “ when *this Book* was written, the ex-
 “ traordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghost
 “ were very frequent ; and we need not
 “ question but that such *Revelations* too
 “ among the rest, were communicated
 “ to holy Men for the Benefit of the
 “ Church ^a. In another of *Hermas’s Vi-*
sions ^b, relating to two Sorts of *voluptu-*
ous Men, &c. thus : “ An *Angel* (which
 “ *Hermas* says, was the same he had been
 “ wont to converse with) saith unto him ;
 “ see’st thou this Shepherd ? I answer’d,
 “ I see him. He said unto me ; This is
 “ the Messenger (or Angel) of *Delight*
 “ and *Pleasure*. He therefore corrupts
 “ the Minds of the Servants of God, and
 “ turns them from the Truth, delighting
 “ them with many *Pleasures*, and they
 “ perish : For they forget the Commands
 “ of the living God, and live in Luxury
 “ and in vain Satisfaction ; and are cor-
 “ rupted by this *evil Angel*, some of them

^a Ib. Page 124.

^b His sixth *Similitude*.

" unto Death ; and others even to a *falling off* from the *Truth*.—— Again,
 " I said, Who is this cruel and implacable Shepherd, who is moved with no
 " Compassion towards these Sheep ? He
 " answer'd, This Shepherd ^a is indeed
 " the Messenger of the Righteous ; but is
 " set over *them* for their Punishment. To
 " him therefore are deliver'd those who
 " have erred from God, and follow'd the
 " Desires and Pleasures of this World,
 " and served them. For this Cause He
 " punishes them every one according to
 " their Deserts, with cruel and various
 " kind of Pains. Then I said, I would
 " know, what kind of Pains they are,
 " which every one undergoes : Hearken,
 " said he ; The several Pains and Torments
 " are those which Men every Day
 " undergo in their *present* Lives. For
 " some suffer *Losses* ; others *Poverty* ;
 " others divers *Sicknesses*. Some are *un-*
 " *constant* ; others *suffer Injuries from*
 " *those that are unworthy* ; others fall under
 " many other *Tryals* and *Inconven-*
 " *iences*. Many with an unsettled De-
 " sign aim at many Things, and it pro-
 " fiteth them not ; and they say, that

^a *Vid. Origen, in Ps. 37. Hom. 1.*

" they

“ they have not Success in their Under-
 “ takings. These Things call to their
 “ Mind what they have done amiss, and
 “ they complain of the LORD. When
 “ therefore they shall have undergone *all*
 “ *Kind of Vexation and Inconveniency* ;
 “ then they are deliver’d over to *me* for
 “ good Instruction, and are confirm’d in
 “ the Faith of the LORD, and serve the
 “ LORD all the rest of their Life with
 “ a pure Mind. And when they begin
 “ to repent of their Sins, then they call
 “ to Mind their Works which they have
 “ done amiss, and give Honour to God,
 “ saying, That He is a just Judge, and
 “ that they have deservedly suffer’d all
 “ Things according to their Deeds. And
 “ for *what remains of their Lives* ; they
 “ serve God with a pure Mind, and have
 “ Success in all their Undertakings, and
 “ receive from the LORD whatever they
 “ desire. And then they give Thanks
 “ unto the LORD that they were de-
 “ liver’d unto me ; nor do they suffer a-
 “ ny more Cruelty. The *Translation*,
 Madam, that I have here given you of
 the Shepherd *Hermas*, is that great *Pre-*
late’s already mention’d ; who has in so
 excellent a Manner recommended the E-
 pistles of the *Apostolical Fathers* in our
 own Language, for the *reviving primitive*
Piety amongst us ; for Religion, his Grace
 well

well knows, according to Mr. Herbert's
Prophetic Muse,

*Now seems to stand a Tip-toe in our
Land,
Ready to fly to th' American Strand.*

His Grace in the *Preliminary Discourse* to those *Epistles* of the Apostolical Fathers, has thought fit to oblige the World with those two *Epistles*; which I have already taken Notice of ^a, being an Intercourse between our Saviour Christ and Abgarus Prince of Edessa. His Grace refers to the Passage in Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria* concerning it, which I have given you at large in *English* ^b. I would now farther observe to you, from his Grace's Account of the *Matter*, that the Church of Rome are not agreed about the *Genuineness* of those *Epistles*; no more than the *Protestants*; and that therefore the Concern I have shewn for securing *their* Authority, can have no *Bias*s but what is honest. Yet still, all that I have or shall offer, is done with the greatest Deference to his Grace's Judgment. 'Tis with Pleasure I find him concluding about these *Epistles*, thus:

^a See Page 49.

^b See above Page 56, 57, &c.

“ Since

“ Since both *Eusebius* and *St. Ephræm*
 “ have spoken with such Confidence of
 “ this Story, whose Authority ought
 “ not to be lightly esteemed; I shall
 “ chuse rather with the middle sort, to
 “ leave it to every one to judge as he
 “ pleases, than *determine* any thing in
 “ this Case. As to a *Circumstance* taken
 Notice of by *Evagrius*, and produced by
 his *Grace*, relating to those *Epistles*; I
 have wholly omitted it: Nor can I think
 the *Genuineness* of those *Epistles* at all af-
 fected by it; since neither *Eusebius*, who
 translated these *Epistles* out of the *Syriac*;
 nor *Ephræm* a Deacon of *Edeffa*, knew
 any thing of such *Circumstance*. — And
 yet in other Matters relating to these *E-*
pistles, *Eusebius* is very particular; for
 the very *Courier* is nam'd, by which our
 Saviour sent his Answer; and so is the
Person, with whom *Thaddæus* lodged af-
 ter he came to *Edeffa*. I must therefore
 think, in this Matter, (with all due Sub-
 mission) that the famous *Du Pin* sets out
 very odly, when he attacks *Eusebius*, and
 charges him so smartly in the very begin-
 ning of his *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*^a, as if

^a Il y a Apparence, qu'Eusebe a ajouté Foy trop lige-
 rement aux Memoires, qu'on lui avoit donnez, & il est
 tres-probable, que ces Lettres sont supposées, & que tout
 cette Histoire est faite à plaisir.

he was a Man too credulous, and wanted Judgment in the compiling of his History; whereas, in the Opinion of Bishop Pearson and Dr. Cave^a, the very Reverse is Eusebius's just Character; the latter says, *That the great Fidelity and Authority of Eusebius weighs exceedingly with him; that Eusebius was not a Man to be easily imposed on himself; nor is there any Reason to be assigned, why he should have a Mind to put a Cheat upon others: And the former, who is quoted by the Doctor, says, For my own part I maintain and insist upon it, that Eusebius took so much Care and Pains, and had so solid a Judgment in examining those antient Writings relating to Christianity, which he supposed might contain several Things handed down by Tradition from the Apostles, that after this, there can be no room left for any one to doubt, either of his own Fidelity, or of those Writings which he himself esteemed as Genuine.* And what says the late Bishop of Oxford^b, where he is treating of the same Subject? *He is a Stranger to Eusebius, that knows him not to be as nice and curious in examining the Credit of his*

^a See above Page 57.

^b See Parker of the Law of Nature and the Christian Religion, Page 237.

Authorities, as any the most critical Authors whatsoever; and for this Reason he has rejected many excellent Passages, that might have been very serviceable to his Cause, meerly because of their doubtful Antiquity, allowing nothing as authentick that he cannot vouch by the Testimony of antient and contemporary Writers. And methinks, Du Pin, when he was going to write a History himself, should have been very tender in reflecting upon so great a Man as Eusebius; an Author, that he knew must be often made use of, and much depended on; especially, when, by Parity of Argument, several Facts related by Du Pin from Eusebius are liable to the same Exception which he makes to the History of Abgarus, namely, because there are some Things, which, it may be, are not so easily adjusted or to be accounted for: And yet after all, what are these Arguments, that Du Pin forms against this part of Eusebius's History? The first Objection is; who can imagine (says du Pin) that the King of Edessa, upon a bare Relation given him of the Miracles done by Jesus Christ, should speak of him in such a manner, as if he was persuaded of his Divinity, and instructed in his Religion? With Submission, I think that great Man has not rightly translated Eusebius: *Aiant ouï parler, (lui dit-il) des Miracles que vous faites,*

faites, je suis persuadé, que vous estes Dieu, ou Fils de Dieu. In the Original, thus; *ὃς ταῦτα πάντα αἰσούς περὶ σοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἑθιμὸν τὸ ἐνεον τῶν δύο, &c.* Having heard all these Things of thee, I thus reasoned with my self these two ways, either that thou art God, and coming down from Heaven dost these Things, or else that thou doest them as being the Son of God. And was not this arguing or reasoning upon the Matter highly becoming a wise Man, upon the Relation he had received? Or is there any thing easier to *imagine*, (tho' *qui peut s'imaginer*, says *Du Pin*) than that the King of *Edessa* should have writ in the manner he did? And as to the *bare* or *common Account* (*sur le simple Recit*) on which *Du Pin* supposes the King of *Edessa* to have grounded his *Persuasion* of these Things; the *Prelate*, I last mention'd, observes ^a, that King *Abgarus* might probably receive his Information from no less a Hand than the *Eunuch* of *Ethiopia*; and he farther takes Notice, that at the Passover at *Jerusalem*, where *Profelytes* of all Nations were used to assemble, some might as well repair from *Edessa* and the Parts about it, as the *Eunuch* did from *Ethiopia*. But *Du Pin* far-

^a In Pref. P. 39.

ther objects, as inconsistent with the Guinefs of the King of *Edeffa's* Letter, that *he* should all on a sudden offer one half of his Kingdom to a Man that he did not know ^a. But what is it *really*, that the King of *Edeffa* offers to our Saviour? I am very sure, the *Original* will furnish us with nothing more than this, *viz.* That *Abgarus* having heard, that the *Jews* had a Mind to do our blessed Saviour some Mischief, he offers him *un Asyle*; or what our Saviour had complained he could not find amongst the *Jews*, a Place where to lay his Head: My own City is but small, (says King *Abgarus*) but neat and delightful enough; and sufficient to serve both of us; now if this be all, where is the Force of *Du Pin's* Objection? But, put the Case, that *Abgarus* had made much greater Offers; this still had been very consistent with the Notion, which *he* is supposed to have entertained of our Saviour, and as agreeable with the Prophecies concerning him. *Du Pin*, as another Objection, puts a Question, where those Words are to be found in the Scriptures, which are referred to in our Saviour's Letter, where 'tis said, 'Tis written of me,

^a Qui croira, qu'un Roi offre tout d'un coup la Moitié de son Roiaume à un Homme qu'il ne connoît pas?

&c. * And in order to make the Objection (as he thinks) unanswerable; he says, 'tis visible, the Words in the Letter allude to the Saying of Christ to St. *Thomas* after his Resurrection, *Blessed are those who have not seen, and yet have believed*: So that we must first believe, (which is pretty hard to do) that there might be an Impostor so very *weak* and *silly*, as to imagine, that such Letter would pass current, though he was sensible, that all the World knew as well as himself, that some Words contain'd in it, were not spoken till after the Death of the Person that writ the Letter; or else this Objection of *Du Pin*'s can have no Weight: But then, besides, I don't see, that 'tis so very *plain*, as *Du Pin* would have it, (*Ne voit-on pas?* &c.) that there is any *such* Allusion in the Letter. Dr. *Cave*, *Valesius* and others have thought in a quite different manner from *Du Pin* as to this particular ^b. And the late Bishop of *Oxford* observes farther on this Head ^c, where he says, "That as to the Passage which is objected to, in our Saviour's Letter, as taken out of St. *John*'s Gospel, when

^a See above Page 50.

^b See above Page 60.

^c See Pref. ib. Page 36.

“ the Gospel it self was not yet written ;
 “ ’tis to be consider’d, that the *Passage*
 “ is of a quite different Sense from our
 “ Saviour’s Words in *St. John*, to *Tho-*
 “ *mas* : For *there*, seeing and believing
 “ are not opposed, as in the former
 “ Words to *Abgarus* ; but believing upon
 “ that rational Evidence which our Sa-
 “ viour had given the World of his di-
 “ vine Commission, without that Certain-
 “ ty of Sight that *Thomas* had, is pre-
 “ ferr’d as more ingenuous and commend-
 “ able : But then, ’tis evident from the
 “ Words themselves, that our Saviour
 “ quotes them not as an historical Re-
 “ cord, but as a *Prophetic* Prediction,
 “ and therefore uses the same sort of
 “ Speech that he does in the Evangelists,
 “ as often as he applies the Prophecies
 “ of the Old Testament to himself, *It is*
 “ *written of me*^a, *i. e.* it is foretold. *Du*
Pin has another Objection, which relates
 to the *History* of *Abgarus*, (taken out of
 the same *Archives*, as were the *Epistles*,
 by *Eusebius*;) and ’tis this ; *Abgarus* tells
Thadæus^b, *That his Faith in Christ had*
been such, that he was resolved by Force of
Arms to have cut in pieces the Jews who

^a γίνεσθαι.

^b See above Page 53.

crucified Him, if the Roman Power had not overawed and prevented him. This *Du Pin* represents as *Romantic*, and as a Project too vain and extravagant to be mention'd by the King of *Edeffa*, in Regard to so powerful a Nation as was that of the *Jews*. (*Contre une Nation aussi puissante, qu'étoit celle des Juifs.*) *Du Pin*, when he form'd his Objection, might possibly represent the *Jewish* Nation to himself, to be the same powerful warlike sort of People, as they were in the time of the *Maccabees*; when *Rome* it self stil'd them their *Friends* and *Confederates*^a; but 'tis certain, the *Jews* were at this time, when the King of *Edeffa* took such a *Resolution*, the most abject contemptible People in the World; they were remarkably so, a few Years before the Birth of our Saviour; when, upon *Herod's* taking a Journey to *Rome*, his Lieutenants and the whole *Posse* of his Kingdom found some Difficulty in repulsing even a Company of the *Trachonite Banditi*, who sadly ravag'd all his Territories; and when upon his Return he pursued such *Banditi*, and destroy'd most of them, and the *Fortress* they had retir'd to; he did for that Ac-

^a 1 Mac. xv. 17.

tion loose the Favour of *Augustus* for some time, because done without his Leave or Direction. The *Jewish* Kingdom was soon after cantond, and made *Roman Provinces*; and therefore the *Roman* Power did unquestionably overawe the King of *Edessa* as well as other neighbouring Princes, as to forming any Designs against the Inhabitants of such *Provinces*. *Judea*, *Idumæa* and *Samaria* was turn'd into a *Roman* Province, a few Years after our Saviour was born; when *Coponius* was made the first Procurator; when the *Jews* by no means lik'd the heavy *Taxes* laid on them by their new Governours; but the wooden Shoes were so fast on, that they could not help themselves; and they were a *Prey* to any Nation, if the *Romans* had a Mind to have it so. 'Tis well known, that the *Jews* were not *then* able to preserve to themselves *long* any Place of Honour or Profit. One of *Coponius's* Successor's, *Valerius Gratus* (and who was succeeded by *Pontius Pilate*) made no Scruple of turning out the *High Priest* himself, and putting in his room whom he pleas'd; and after much Blood spilt by *Jew* and *Roman*, the latter, by the just Judgment of God, destroy'd *Jerusalem* just forty Years after our Saviour's Passion; when *Vespasian* made strict En-

quiry after the Line of *David*; and was as much resolved to extirpate that *Line*, as the King of *Edessa* long before was resolved to destroy the whole *Jewish* Nation. But this is not what I would insist on, in Answer to *Du Pin*'s present Objection: For should it be granted, that the *Jews* were at that time such a mighty People, as *Du Pin* supposes (*une Nation aussi puissante*) and that therefore the Writer of the *Abgarian* History must shew *very little Judgment*, in attributing to *Abgarus* a Design so extravagant; yet, methinks, this way of arguing seems to *retort*; and that, there being so *much Folly* in it, *therefore* probably there *never* was any such Impostor: For to what Purpose should an *Impostor* set himself to work, to tell a *Story* at that time of Day, when all the World (according to *Du Pin*) must know it to be *ridiculous*? And no doubt *Eusebius*, who may be supposed to have been a much better Judge, what the State of the *Jewish* Nation was at that time, as well as *that* of other *neighbouring* Princes, than any one since; would not have fail'd *remarking* upon such a *notorious* Piece of Folly and Weakness, as *Du Pin* is pleas'd to suppose; and consequently, would have rejected the History of *Abgarus*; which yet he has given to the World as *genuine*; and

and if the Character given of *Eusebius* by those learned Men, I have already nam'd, may be rely'd on; then 'tis certain, that *Eusebius* could not be *imposed* on, in admitting so *gross* a *Blunder*, as *Du Pin* makes it in *this* Objection; nor can *Eusebius* be charged with *Forgery*, or with an Intention of *imposing* upon others. Besides, who were they that *through Faith subdued Kingdoms*? Let any one read over that 11th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and then resolve with himself, whether *Abgarus* King of *Edessa*, who is supposed to have taken this Resolution of destroying the *Jews*, with an EYE OF FAITH, and in Regard to the *goodness* of his own Cause, and the *badness* of theirs; ought to be charged with that *Folly* and *Want* of *Judgment*, as *Du Pin* does in this Matter? *Thadæus* in this Passage is telling the King of *Edessa*, what glorious *Effects* he might expect from a *true Christian Faith*: The King replies, *My Faith in Christ has already been such, that I have had a good Will or Mind^a to cut off those Jews who crucified him.* I will only add the *Observation*, which my good Friend Mr. *Reading* of *Sion College* has made (in his beautiful and correct Edition of

^a Βουλῆσθαι δύναμιν παραλαβών.

Eusebius) from *A. Baudrand*, and *Christ. Cellarius*^a; which shews, that the Jewish Nation was really what I have already described them to be, a poor wretched sort of People; that there was a good Reason to be assigned for it from the Book of *Deuteronomy*, Chap. 18. and that the King of *Edessa's* District or Dominion was of a much larger extent, than *Du Pin* is pleas'd to suppose it. There is another Objection, which *Du Pin* makes, that does not seem to deserve much Notice, and yet he is pleas'd, in his Notes, to lay a great Stress upon it; which is^b, that *St. Thomas* in this History has likewise the Appellation of *Judas* given him

^a Atqui hoc tempore hujus Populi gloria Bellica aut perquam exigua, aut potius nulla fuit: Quippe Judæorum omnis virtus ex sedulâ in Deum pietate pendeat; amissâ verò pietate, & fortitudinem perdididerunt; & impleta est in illis olim denunciata maledictio (*Deut. xxviii.*) *Dabit te Dominus cæsum coram inimicis tuis*, &c. Desinamus ergo mirari, si vel minimus Popellus Judæis Bellum minaciter intentaret: Sed neque videtur hic Princeps (*Abgarus*) adeò ab omni parte imbellis: Nam *Osdroena Regulorum Regia tantum Edessa fuit*, ut testatur *Procopius*. Certe *Edessanus Comitatus* unus fuit ex quatuor Principatibus Latinorum Regionis in Oriente, tempore Belli Sacri & Regum Hierosolymitanorum.

^b L'Apôtre *Thomas* n'étoit point surnommé *Jude*, mais *Didyme* — Ce qui est encore une preuve de la fausseté de cette Histoire.

by *Eusebius* ; and that *therefore* the History cannot be *genuine*. *Valesius* observes, that possibly there may be a Mistake (and why not ?) in giving a Name to St. *Thomas*, that did *really* belong to *Thadæus* ; as *Valesius* there shews from St. *Jerom* ; I will only farther observe, that if *Eusebius* may be allowed to have known, what the additional *Names* of St. *Thomas* were, as well as any one since his time ; we may conclude, that either there is such a Mistake, as *Valesius* has supposed, and made probable from St. *Jerom* ; or else that *Eusebius* would have made the same Objection, that *Du Pin* has done. I am very sensible, whilst I am thus arguing with *Du Pin*, that I am maintaining an Error, in the *Opinion* of his *Grace* of *Canterbury* : However, I cannot yet see the Error : But will submit the whole to his *Grace*'s known Candour and great Judgment. Be pleas'd, Madam, to remember^a, that my defending this History of *Abgarus* is not any *Digression* ; for 'tis maintaining a remarkable Testimony of *Thadæus*, which I have quoted ; serving, among others, to illustrate the Description given of *Samuel's ascending out of the Earth*. I should now conclude, but I find

^a See above Page 45, 46.

my self obliged to take Notice of a *French* Gentleman, the Abbot *St. Pierre*, who has lately undertaken to shew, that *Apparitions* may be explained in a *natural way*; (much *such* a way as the Gentleman, I have already mention'd, has been used to explain *them* to you) and consequently, should this Gentleman's *Hypothesis* prevail, all that I have advanced must make a very poor Figure in the World; the old Doctrine must soon be exploded; and the Author censured for reviving it. This doughty Performance of the *Abbot* is moreover called a *curious* Discourse; and said to have been communicated to the Authors of the *Memoirs of Trevoux*: It is now handed to the World in an *English* Dress, among the *New Memoirs of Literature* ^a, published by Messrs. *William* and *John Innys*. The Abbot's *Reflections*, it seems, were occasioned by an *Apparition*; of which he gives the following Account himself. ' I was lately told at *Valogne*, ' that an honest Priest of that Town, ' named *Mr. Bezuel*, who teaches Children to read, saw an *Apparition* ten or ' twelve Years ago. It made then a great ' Noise, because he had the Reputation

^a Vol. III. for the Month of *June*, 1726.

' of being a sincere and upright Man ; and
 ' therefore I had the Curiosity to hear
 ' him tell his own Adventure. A Lady
 ' related to me, who knew him, invit-
 ' ed him to dine with her Yesterday, *Ja-*
 ' *nuary* 7th, 1708 ; and because I expres-
 ' sed a Desire to know the Thing from
 ' himself, and it was a sort of a glorious
 ' Distinction for him to have seen an *Ap-*
 ' *parition* in broad Day-light, he gave us
 ' an Account of it very willingly, and
 ' with great Ingenuity.

THE FACT.

' In 1695, said Mr. *Bezuel*, being a
 ' School-boy of about 15 Years, I grew
 ' acquainted with the two Sons of *Aba-*
 ' *guine*, an Attorney, both of them School-
 ' boys, as I was. The eldest was of my
 ' Age : The other was eighteen Months
 ' younger, and his Name was *Desfon-*
 ' *taines* : We used to walk and play to-
 ' gether, and whether it was that he loved
 ' me better, or was more chearful and
 ' complaisant than his Brother, I had al-
 ' so a greater Love for him.

' In 1696, as we were walking in the
 ' Cloysters of the *Capuchins*, he told me
 ' that he had lately read a Story of *two*
 ' *Friends*, who had promised one another,
 ' that he who should die first, would come

to

‘ to the other, and inform him of his
 ‘ State; and that one of them being dead,
 ‘ *appeared* to his Friend, and told him
 ‘ surprizing Things. Whereupon *Des-*
 ‘ *fontaines* desired a Favour of me, which
 ‘ was to make him such a Promise; and
 ‘ that on his part he would do the same.
 ‘ I told him, I would not do it: He
 ‘ spoke to me about it for several Months
 ‘ very frequently and earnestly; but I
 ‘ continued to deny him.

‘ At last, about the Month of *August*
 ‘ 1696, being to go to *Caen*, in order to
 ‘ pursue his Studies there, he was so pres-
 ‘ sing upon me, that I complied with his
 ‘ Will. He took immediately out of his
 ‘ Pocket two small Papers which he had
 ‘ writ before hand: One of them was
 ‘ signed with his own Blood, in which
 ‘ he promised, that if he should die, he
 ‘ would come and inform me of his State:
 ‘ In the other, I made him the same Pro-
 ‘ mise. I pricked the End of my Finger;
 ‘ there came out of it a Drop of Blood,
 ‘ with which I subscribed my Name. He
 ‘ was wonderfully pleased with my Note,
 ‘ embraced me, and gave me a thousand
 ‘ Thanks.

‘ Some time after, he set out with his
 ‘ Brother: Our Separation made us very
 ‘ uneasy: We writ from time to time one
 ‘ to another; and I had received a Let-
 ‘ ter

ter from him but six Weeks, before
what I am going to tell you, happened
to me.

Upon a Thursday, *July 31. 1697.*
(I shall remember it, as long as I live)
the late *Mr. de Sortoville*, near whose
House I lodged, and who had a Kind-
ness for me, desired me to go to a Mea-
dow near the Convent of the *Cordeliers*,
and to help his Men to make Hay. I
had not been there a quarter of an Hour,
when about half an Hour after Two, I
found my self all of a sudden stunned
and faint: I leaned to no Purpose upon
my Fork: I was obliged to lie down
upon a little Hay, and lay there about
half an Hour, before I could recover
my self. No such Thing had ever hap-
pened to me; and therefore I was very
much surprized at it, and afraid of a
Sickness. However, I was well enough
the remaining part of the Day; but in
the Night I had not so good a Sleep as
usually.

The next Day, at the same Hour, as
I was carrying to the Meadow *Mr. de*
St. Simon, Grand son of *Mr. de Sorto-*
ville, who was then ten Years of Age,
I had the same fainting Fit: I sat upon
a Stone in the Shade: I recovered, and
then we went on. Nothing else hap-
pened

‘ pened to me on that Day ; and in the
‘ Night I slept very little.

‘ At last, the next Day, the second of
‘ *August*, being in the Garret wherein
‘ they were laying up the Hay, that was
‘ brought from the Meadow, exactly at
‘ the same Hour, I was seized with a like
‘ Faintness, but greater than before. I
‘ fell into a Swoon : I lost my Senses :
‘ One of the Footmen perceived it, and
‘ cried out for Help. They recovered me
‘ a little ; but my Mind was more disor-
‘ dered than it had been before. I was
‘ told that they asked me then what ailed
‘ me, and that I answer’d : *I have seen*
‘ *what I thought I should never see.* But
‘ I neither remember the Question, nor
‘ the Answer. However, it agrees with
‘ what I remember I saw then, a naked
‘ Man in half length ; but I knew him
‘ not.

‘ They helped me to go down the Lad-
‘ der : I held the Steps fast ; but because
‘ I saw *Desfontaines* my School-fellow
‘ at the Bottom of the Ladder, I had a-
‘ gain a fainting Fit : My Head got be-
‘ tween two Steps, and I lost again my
‘ Senses. They let me down, and set me
‘ upon a large Beam, which served for a
‘ Seat in the great Place of the *Capuchins* :
‘ I sat upon it, and then I no longer saw

‘ Mr.

' Mr. *de Sortoville*, nor his Servants, tho'
 ' they were present. And perceiving *Des-*
 ' *fontaines* near the Foot of the Ladder,
 ' who made me a Sign to come to him,
 ' I went back upon my Seat, as it were
 ' to make room for him; and those who
 ' saw me, and whom I did not see, tho'
 ' my Eyes were open, observed that Mo-
 ' tion.

' Because he did not come, I got up
 ' to go to him: He came up to me, took
 ' hold of my *left Arm* with his *right*
 ' *Hand*, and carried me thirty Paces far-
 ' ther into a By-Lane, holding me fast.

' The Servants believing that I was
 ' well again, and that I wanted to ease
 ' my self, went away to their Business,
 ' except a little Footboy, who went and
 ' told Mr. *de Sortoville*, that I spoke a-
 ' lone. Mr. *de Sortoville* thought I was
 ' drunk: He came near me, and heard
 ' me ask some Questions, and return some
 ' Answers which he told me since.

' I was there talking with *Desfontaines*
 ' near three Quarters of an Hour. I pro-
 ' mised you, said he, that if I died be-
 ' fore you, I would come and tell you
 ' so. I am dead: I was drowned Yester-
 ' day in the River of *Caen* much about
 ' this Hour. I was walking with such
 ' and such a one. 'Twas very hot Wea-
 ' ther: The Fancy took us to go into the
 ' Water:

' Water : I had a Faintness, and sunk to
 ' to the Bottom of the River. *Abbé Me-*
 ' *niljean* my School-fellow dived to take
 ' me up : I took hold of his Foot ; but
 ' whether it be, that he was afraid it
 ' should be a Salmon, because I held him
 ' very fast, or that he had a Mind to get
 ' up quickly above the Water, he shook
 ' off his Leg so violently, that he gave
 ' me a great Blow upon the Breast, and
 ' threw me again into the Bottom of the
 ' River, which is there very deep.

' Afterwards *Desfontaines* told me eve-
 ' ry Thing that had happened to them,
 ' whilst they were walking, and what
 ' they discoursed of. It was in vain for
 ' me to ask him, whether he was saved,
 ' whether he was damned, whether he
 ' was in Purgatory, whether I was in a
 ' State of Grace, whether I should quick-
 ' ly follow him : He went on, as if he
 ' had not heard me, or would not hear
 ' me. I came near him many times to
 ' embrace him ; but methought I *em-*
 ' *braced* nothing : However, *I was sen-*
 ' *sible that he held my Arm fast* ; and when
 ' I endeavoured to turn away my Face,
 ' that I might see him no more, because
 ' his Sight was grievous to me, he *shook*
 ' my Arm, as it were to make me look
 ' upon him and hear him. He always
 ' *appeared* to me taller than I had seen
 ' him,

‘ him, and even taller than he was when
 ‘ he died, though he was grown taller for
 ‘ the space of ten Months that we had not
 ‘ seen one another. I always saw him in
 ‘ half length and naked, bare-headed with
 ‘ his fine light Hair, and a white Paper
 ‘ upon his Fore head, twisted in his Hair,
 ‘ on which there was a Writing, but I
 ‘ could only read, *In &c.* The Tone of
 ‘ his Voice was the same : He appeared
 ‘ to me neither chearful, nor melanco-
 ‘ lic, but in a quiet Situation. He desired
 ‘ me, when his Brother came Home, to
 ‘ tell him some Things, that he might ac-
 ‘ quaint his Father and Mother with
 ‘ them : He desired me to repeat the se-
 ‘ ven Psalms prescribed to him for a Pe-
 ‘ nance the *Sunday* before, which he had
 ‘ not yet repeated : Afterwards he desired
 ‘ me again to speak to his Brother ; and
 ‘ then he took his Leave of me, and went
 ‘ away, saying, *till, till*, as he used to
 ‘ do, when after walking we parted to go
 ‘ Home.

‘ He told me that when he was drown-
 ‘ ed, his Brother was writing a Transla-
 ‘ tion, and repented that he had not gone
 ‘ with him, being afraid of some Acci-
 ‘ dent. He described so well to me the
 ‘ Place where he was drowned, and the
 ‘ Tree in the Avenue to *Louuigny*, upon
 ‘ which he had inscribed some Words,
 ‘ that

‘ that two Years after, happening to be
 ‘ with the late Chevalier *De Gotor*, one
 ‘ of those who were with him, when he
 ‘ was drowned, I showed him the very
 ‘ Place, and telling the Trees on that Side
 ‘ which *Desfontaines* had mentioned to
 ‘ me, I went directly to the Tree, and
 ‘ found his Writing. The Chevalier told
 ‘ me that the Article of the seven Psalms
 ‘ was true, and that when they came
 ‘ from Confession, they told their Pe-
 ‘ nance one to another. *Desfontaines’s*
 ‘ Brother told me since, that it was true,
 ‘ he was writing his Translation at that
 ‘ very time, and that he was sorry he had
 ‘ not gone with him.

‘ I was near a Month without being
 ‘ able to do what *Desfontaines* had told
 ‘ me about his Brother; and therefore he
 ‘ appeared to me again twice: Once at a
 ‘ Country-House whither I was gone a
 ‘ League from hence. I was taken Ill; I
 ‘ desired to be let alone for one Moment;
 ‘ I said, it was nothing, and that I would
 ‘ come again immediately: I went into
 ‘ a Corner of the Garden. *Desfontaines*
 ‘ appeared to me again, and chid me, be-
 ‘ cause I had not yet spoke to his Bro-
 ‘ ther; and he discoursed with me a
 ‘ quarter of an Hour, without answering
 ‘ my Questions.

‘ Another

‘ Another time, as I was going in the Morning to *Our Lady of Victory*, he appeared to me again, but not so long, and urged me still to speak to his Brother, and left me saying, *till, till*, and without answering my Questions.

‘ ’Tis a remarkable Thing, that *I always felt a Pain in that Part of my Arm which he held the first time, till I had spoke to his Brother*. My Amazement was so great, that I was three Days without sleeping.

‘ Immediately after the first *Apparition*, I told Mr. *de Varouville*, my Neighbour and School-fellow, who is now in the Army in the Regiment of *Touraine*, that *Desfontaines* was drowned, that he himself had just before *appeared* to me and told me so. He ran to the Relations of the Deceased, to know whether it was true. The News of it was just come to them; but by a Mistake he understood that it was the eldest Brother. He assured me that he had seen the Letter of *Desfontaines*, and he thought so. I maintained to him, it could not be, and that *Desfontaines* himself had appeared to me. He went thither again; and when he returned, he told me with Tears in his Eyes: *’Tis but too true*.

‘ Nothing happened to me since: Such is my Adventure: It is variously relat-

N

ed;

‘ ed ; but I never told it otherwise than
 ‘ I have just now done to you.

‘ The late Chevalier *De Gotot* told me,
 ‘ that *Desfontaines* did also appear to *Ab-*
 ‘ *bé Meniljean* ; but I don’t know him.
 ‘ He lives twenty Leagues from hence a-
 ‘ bout *Argentan* ; and I can say no more
 ‘ about it.

The two Friends, that *Desfontaines*
 took Notice of to Mr. *Bezuel*, were (if I
 might be allowed by the Abbot to con-
 jecture) *Marsilius Ficinus* and *Michael*
Mercatus ; of whom *Desfontaines* might
 possibly have read the Story in *Baronius* ;
 and from thence our learned Dr. *Henry More*
 gives it in the following manner : ‘ But
 ‘ of any private Person that ever appeared
 ‘ upon Design after his Death ; there is
 ‘ none did upon a more noble one, than
 ‘ that eximious Platonist *Marsilius Fici-*
 ‘ *nus* ; who, after a warm Dispute of the
 ‘ *Immortality* of the Soul, having made a
 ‘ solemn Vow with his Fellow Platonist
 ‘ *Michael Mercatus*, that whether of them
 ‘ Two died first, should appear to his
 ‘ Friend, and give him certain Informa-
 ‘ tion of that Truth ; and it being his Fate
 ‘ to die first, and indeed not long after
 ‘ this mutual Resolution ; he was mindful

* His *Immortality of the Soul*, B. II. C. 16.

of his Promise, when he had left the
 Body. For *Michael Mercatus* being ve-
 ry intent at his Studies betimes on a
 Morning, heard an Horse riding by
 with all Speed, and observed that he
 stopped at his Window; and therewith
 heard the Voice of his Friend *Fici-*
mus crying out aloud, *O Michael, Mi-*
chael, vera, vera sunt illa; the Things
we disputed about are true, very true.
 Whereupon he suddenly open'd the Win-
 dow, and espying *Marsilius* on a white
 Steed, called after him; but *he vanish'd*
in his Sight. He sent therefore present-
 ly to *Florence*, to know how *Marsilius*
 did; and understood, that he died a-
 bout that Hour he called at his Win-
 dow, to assure him of his own and o-
 ther Men's *Immortalities.* There is one
 thing more observable in this Account gi-
 ven us by the Abbot *St. Pierre*, and that
 is *Mr. Bezuel's* Declaration, that *he was*
sensible that Desfontaines held his Arm
fast, and that he always felt a Pain in
that Part of his Arm, till he had spoke to
Desfontaines's Brother; which, it seems,
 he deferred doing near a Month. This
 reminds me of *another* Account very much
 like it, which I *my self* had some Years
 ago from a very ingenious Gentleman, a
 Member of *Parliament* for some Part of
North Britain; being some Part of the

Discourse, with which I and others were entertained in the *Stage Coach* from *London* to *Windsor*: He assured me, that a Widow, a Tenant of his in *North Britain*, and who had a great many Children to provide for, did appear to him one Night, when he was in Bed at his Lodgings in *Pell-Mell* near *St. James's*; that the Widow let him know, that she was dead; but was very importunate with him, that he would take Care of the great Family she had left behind her; that he having consented to what was requested, she immediately squeezed him (as he thought) about one of his *Wrists*; that a Brother Member of *Parliament* calling on him the next Morning to go to the *House*; he related to him, as he was getting out of Bed, what had happened to him in the Night, and occasioned his lying longer than ordinary; the *Story* (he said) at first made his Friend very merry: But looking upon that Wrist which he thought the Woman squeezed so hard, and observing together with his Friend a *black Spot* on either Side of it, not less in Circumference than a *Sixpence*; they both began to think and talk of the Matter very seriously: The Gentleman assur'd me, that he shew'd those *black Spots* to Hundreds of People; that the *Spots* daily decreas'd, and so continued till he had his *Letters* from
North

North Britain; by which he learn't that the Widow died the *same* Night that she appeared to him in *Pell-Mell*; that she expir'd with the same Concern for her Children, and lamented the Absence of her Landlord; and he farther assured me and the Company, that he was fully convinced of such *Apparition*; and that he did accordingly take *Care* of the Widow's Children. There are many now living, to whom I have given this Account, as well as to your self: And I wish, when the learned Abbot shall again oblige us with his *Natural Explications* of some other *Apparitions*, that he would please to let us know, whether these *two* Instances which I have just now mentioned, may be accounted for in such a *natural way* too: And certainly these Instances had been designedly passed over by me, if this *modern Apparition* given us by the Abbot de *St. Pierre* had not called for it. But now, what are the *Abbot's* Reflections, or what is that *natural way*; whereby he explains this *Apparition* to good Mr. *Bezuel*, as he calls him? Indeed, Madam, I have trespassed too far already in this *long* Letter. I have neither room for the *Abbot's* Arguments; nor yet Messrs. *Innys* Leave to give you the *whole* of this choice Piece. But I easily imagine, these *Memoirs of Literature* are already in your
Pos-

Possession; and am only to request, that you will impartially weigh *his* Reasons, and *mine* that have already occurred in this Letter, relating to *Apparitions*. The Abbot indeed solves Things in a very easy, free manner; and you will soon perceive, what he aims at; which is to explain away all *Apparitions* in general. As to the *particular Apparition* before him; he remarks, that Mr. *Bezuel* having been a *poor* Scholar, had not *dined* very well probably that Day; which is an *Evil*, I presume, the Abbot carefully guards against himself. He next observes, that the *Dog Days* and the fragrant Smell of fine *new Hay*, might *both* together occasion that Disorder; and so Mr. *Bezuel* *honestly* believed, he says, that he had a *real Apparition*; and thus the Abbot having clear'd up the whole matter, as he would have it believed, he assures us in the very next Line, that Mr. *Bezuel's* *imaginary Apparition* was only an Effect of such Disease, and of the Alteration of his Brain. Mr. *Bezuel*, he says, had a frightful Dream, and part of it proved true *by Chance*. The *new Hay* does him singular Service in his Explication; for *Desfontaines* OUGHT to have *appeared*, he thinks, the *first* time in the Meadow; but then the *Non-Appearance* at that time is easily solved, it seems; because the *Apparition*, says the Abbot,

Abbot, wanted to be supported by the *Vapours of the new Hay*; which he assures us are *stronger in a Garret than elsewhere*; and two Pages after this, he re-assumes the same Argument, and puts the Question; *Can wise Men hesitate to believe such a Disorder proceeding from a violent Impression of the Sun, and the Vapours of the Hay?* Then the Abbot proceeds to consider the *Nature of a Spirit*, in Regard to a *Body sufficiently solid and lighted* (as he calls it) as also the Consequences of it; which I shall leave to you, Madam, and others to judge of; and thus the Abbot having resolved all Mr. *Bezuel's* Vision and Conversation with *Desfontaines* into a *feverish Dream*, he does in the same Breath, without assigning any other Reason, discard in three Lines the Apparition of *Brutus*, and all other *Apparitions* mentioned by *Greek and Latin* Authors. But I still forget my self; and have now just Reason to fear your Anger, in continuing to treat you in this manner, after I have detained you so long already. I hope, a kind Providence may soon permit me to send you two or three *Letters* more on the remaining Subjects; when I shall be so happy as to learn, that *this* has given you any Satisfaction; or that 'tis like to answer the *End* you proposed;

posed; which, I am well assured, was to
do Service to Religion: And I can aver
with the greatest Sincerity; 'tis with the
same View, that the Commands you laid
on me have been so chearfully obeyed
by.

Madam,

Your very humble Servant,

Tho. Dawson.

E R R A T A

P. 122. *dele* (.) after the Word *greater*. P. 142. *dele*
146, 147, and place 142, 143. At P. 144 l. 16.
read *Maker* instead of *Master*.